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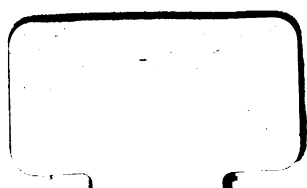
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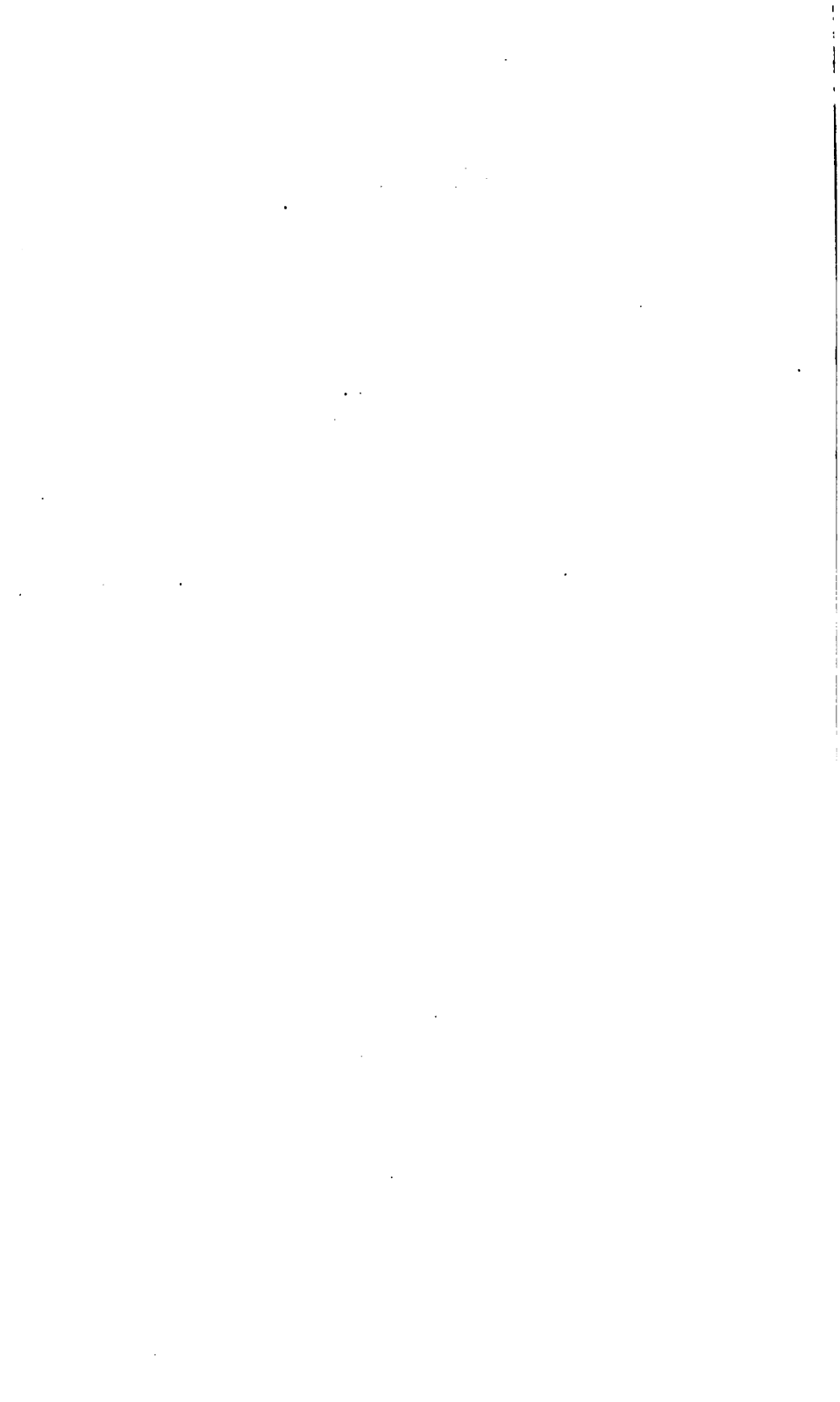
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ΑΙΣΧΥΛΟΥ ΕΠΤΑ ΕΠΙ ΘΗΒΑΣ.

THE  
'SEVEN AGAINST THEBES'  
OF  
AESCHYLUS.





ΑΙΣΧΥΛΟΥ ΕΠΤΑ ΕΠΙ ΘΗΒΑΣ.

THE

'SEVEN AGAINST THEBES'

OF

AESCHYLUS,

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WITH AN

INTRODUCTION, COMMENTARY, AND  
TRANSLATION

BY

A. W. VERRALL, M.A.,

FELLOW OF TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

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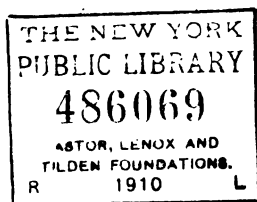
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## PREFACE.

THE play here edited presents, with other kinds of interest common to Aeschylus' works in general, the problem of a wide and most unusual divergence between the judgment of antiquity and the judgment of modern times. It was profoundly admired by the Athenian spectators of the great dramatic age, and frequently cited by readers throughout the times of Graeco-Roman civilization. In modern times even the magnificence of the verse and the splendour of detached pieces have not been thought sufficient to support so favourable a view, when balanced against the supposed want of any merit properly called dramatic. Whether this disagreement may be explained or perhaps removed is the question which it will be our first business to consider.

I have but a few words to say by way of preface to (1) the text, (2) the explanation, (3) the translation.

For the critical foundation I am indebted almost entirely to the text and apparatus of Dr Wecklein.

The Introduction and explanatory notes are in the main the product of independent work. The collection of 'uncertain conjectures', appended by Dr Wecklein to his text, extends over nearly 300 pages, of which nearly 50 are filled with those on this single play. This appalling catalogue, if it proves, as it

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does, the dangers of conjecture, also proves not less distinctly that a very large part of Aeschylus still awaits explanation. I have endeavoured to profit by both lessons. Where I am conscious of a particular debt I have of course acknowledged it. Doubtless however I am much more indebted than I am aware, particularly to Professor Paley, whose work was my sole 'Aeschylus' for many years.

As to the translation, it is intended merely to supplement the commentary, and not as a literary equivalent for the original. I have aimed at nothing more, perhaps nothing more is in this case attainable, than the negative merit of not offending the ear and taste: and even this I am far from supposing that I have always secured.

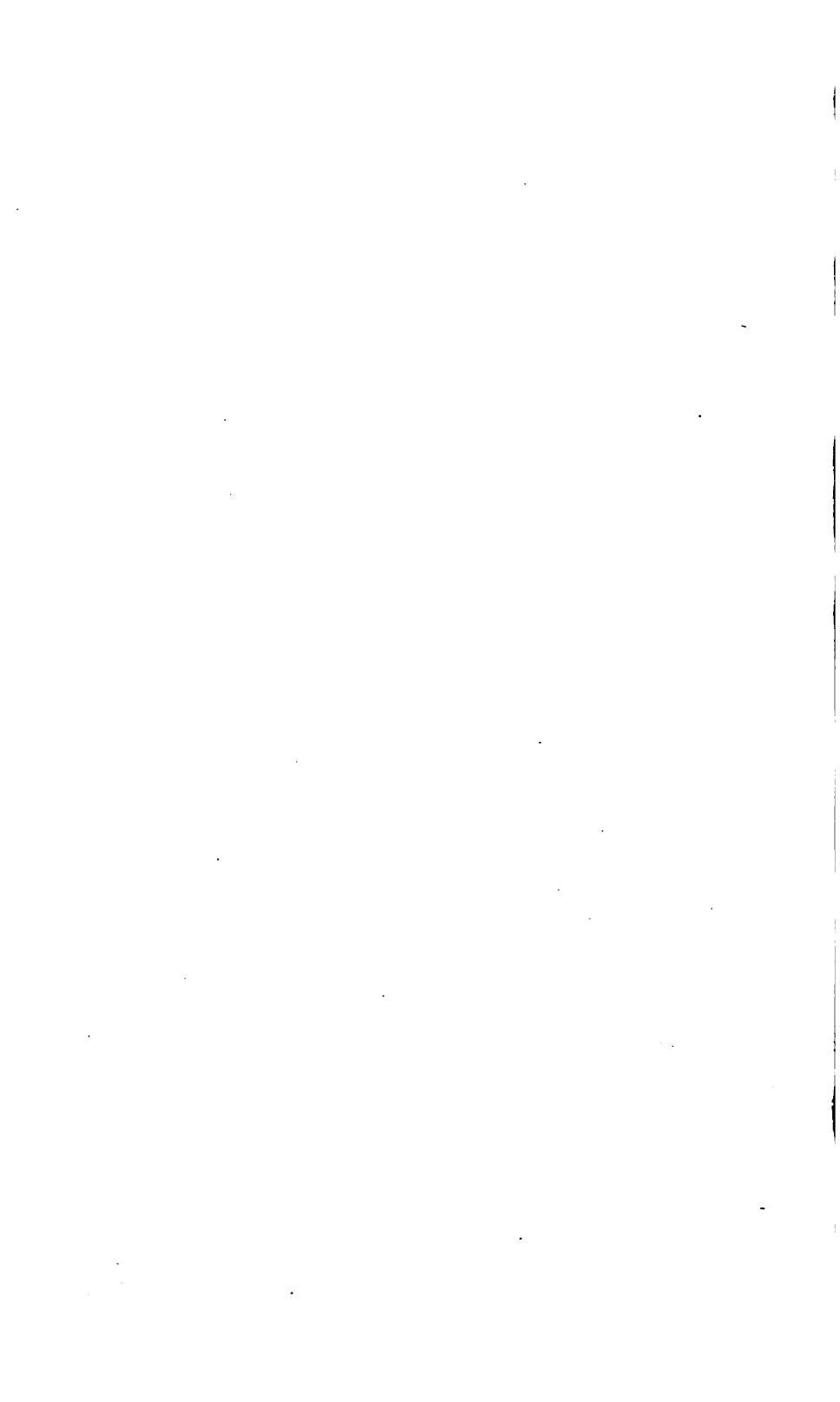
Mr J. D. Duff, Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, has kindly aided me in the preparation of the book for the press.

TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

*December 13, 1886.*

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## INTRODUCTION.

### 1. *The Legend of the House of Laius according to Aeschylus. The Plot of the Play.*

The 'Seven against Thebes'—for it is certainly too late to change the not very happy description attached to the play for ever by a verse of Aristophanes<sup>1</sup>, and current perhaps even earlier still—takes its plot from the great attempt made by Adrastus king of Argos and a confederacy under his leadership, to restore Polynices son of Oedipus to his country and throne. This expedition was in Greek legendary history the most famous event excepting, perhaps not even excepting, the Trojan war. It was the subject of more than one ancient epic poem known to us by tradition, and probably of many others not now traceable. The most successful of these, the *Thebais*, was thought worthy to be attributed to Homer, and seems to have ranked next in reputation after the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. The details of the story were variously told and it received both before and after Aeschylus many developments, among them some of great literary importance, not accordant with each other and not always harmonizing with the spirit of the original<sup>2</sup>. What was the authority followed by Aeschylus in this play, or whether he followed any one version exactly, there is no external evidence to show.

Under these circumstances it is desirable, if we would avoid confusion, first to trace clearly, as far as possible, the story actually given by Aeschylus, and to keep distinct the question how far we may supplement it from other sources. This is the more worth attention, because it appears that the Aeschylean version was simple, harmonious, and in some respects singularly faithful to very ancient traditions.

<sup>1</sup> Aristoph. *Ran.* 1022.

<sup>2</sup> A general view of the Theban le-

gends will be found in Grote, *History of Greece*, Part I. Chap. xiv.



Like the legend which is the subject of the *Agamemnon*, *Choephoroi*, and *Eumenides*, the Oedipodean legend in Aeschylus is closely connected with two powers of religion, the oracle of Apollo at Delphi and the vengeance of the *Erinyes* or Furies, and probably took shape under Delphic influence. The sum of it is the destruction of the house of Laius for disobedience to the command of Apollo.—Laius, king of the Cadmeans, was thrice warned by the oracle, as he valued the welfare of his country, to leave no issue of his body. Notwithstanding this, he begat a son, Oedipus, *whom he endeavoured to destroy*. *The child however grew up in ignorance of his parents*<sup>1</sup>, and slew his unknown father in a casual encounter on the road<sup>2</sup>. Thus Laius himself was punished and the curse of parricide entailed on the son. The town of the Cadmeans being ravaged by the Sphinx, a devouring monster who was to prey upon them *till her riddle should be answered*, Oedipus, returning to his native place, delivered it *by answering the riddle* and, becoming king, espoused the widow of Laius, his own mother<sup>3</sup>. By her he had four children, two sons, Eteocles and Polynices, and two daughters, Antigone and Ismene. On the discovery of the truth, *the mother slew herself*: Oedipus, loaded with the treble curse of parricide, incest *and matricide*<sup>4</sup>, sank into melancholy madness<sup>5</sup>. Thus the punishment was continued upon the second generation. By the madness of Oedipus it was extended into the third<sup>6</sup>: offended at the manner in which he was served and maintained by his sons, he doomed them by his paternal curse 'so to divide their inheritance with the sword as that their shares should be equal'. This imprecation, pointing not obscurely to their mutual death, gave the ever-watchful Erinyes occasion to complete the destruction of the race. After Oedipus' death, the sons disputed the succession<sup>7</sup>; Polynices was expelled, and took refuge with Adrastus, the powerful king of Argos. There he found another illustrious exile, Tydeus, of the ancient city of Calydon, banished from his country for

<sup>1</sup> The facts in italics are not stated in the brief summary given in this play (*vv.* 728 foll.). But it is clear that the story in this part bore a general resemblance to that of Sophocles in the *Oedipus Tyrannus*.

<sup>2</sup> See the fragment attributed to Aeschylus' *Oedipus* (*frag.* 171, Dindorf).

<sup>3</sup> Named Epicaste in the *Odyssey* (xi. 270), and Iocaste (Jocasta) by Sophocles.

<sup>4</sup> *Od. l. c.*

<sup>5</sup> βλαψίφρων *v.* 712, μαινομένη καρδίη

*v.* 766.

<sup>6</sup> The details of this part of the story, extremely obscure owing to the uncertainty of the text in *vv.* 768—775, are discussed in a subsequent section.

<sup>7</sup> Aeschylus does not say which was the elder; the curious expression *δμόσπλαγχνα πλευρώματα* in *v.* 874 may perhaps indicate that in his story they were twins, which is certainly the supposition best suiting the sequel.

homicide. Tydeus, fierce and restless, obtained ascendancy in the counsels of Adrastus, and persuaded him to undertake the restoration of Polynices<sup>1</sup>. Adrastus collected a great Achæan host partly of his own Argives, partly of his allies, of whom one of the most conspicuous was Parthenopæus of Arcadia. Amphiaraus the Argive μάντις, both pious and brave, opposed the expedition and prophesied its failure, but was compelled to accompany it himself. For a long time this host, encamped near the Cadmean city, carried on a 'siege' (of the same desultory kind as that of Troy in the Trojan epic), but on the whole with loss. At length the Achæans resolved on a 'crowning assault'<sup>2</sup>. The wall of the city had seven gates. All of these were now to be attacked at once by several divisions (λόχοι), led by seven leaders chosen from among the chiefs attending the expedition, who bound themselves by an oath either to carry the city or die in the attempt. Among the seven chosen for this service are Polynices himself, Tydeus, and Amphiaraus, who is represented as undertaking the adventure with the calm bravery of one who foresees his fate. (At this point the action of the play commences.) In the arrangement of the attack and defence the fatality, which under the direction of Apollo (see *v.* 786) pursues the house of Laius, brings about a result, which on one side at least is neither designed nor desired—a personal encounter between the brothers. As things stand at the beginning of the play this encounter, necessary to the fulfilment of the curse, is extremely improbable. Both brothers have reason to dread it. Polynices indeed, as afterwards appears, is desperate and eager for revenge at any cost. But Eteocles, in possession of the city and throne, which he has so far successfully defended, has every motive of reason, religion, and superstition for avoiding such a duel and every chance of doing so without risk and without dishonour<sup>3</sup>. The development of the fatality which brings them together forms the plot of the first 'Act', as it may be called, *vv.* 1—706, and must be followed with attention.

<sup>1</sup> According to some accounts, Adrastus gave his daughters in marriage to the two exiles. The story of Aeschylus neither confirms nor impeaches this detail. The marriage of Polynices is the necessary starting-point for the legend of the *Epigoni*, which as we shall presently see was *not* a part of the original story as treated by Aeschylus in this play. It is evident that in Aeschylus' story the part of Tydeus was extremely important. He was in fact the villain of the tale, as

Amphiaraus was the virtuous hero. See *v.* 364 etc. and *v.* 555.

<sup>2</sup> χρόνον ἤδη τόνδε *v.* 21—μεγίστη προσβολή *v.* 28. The phrase is important and is to be taken in its full sense. The plot of the play assumes that with the failure of this assault the danger of the city is at an end, the siege is raised, and the discomfited army retreats.

<sup>3</sup> For the different situations and motives of the two princes see *v.* 686.

During the night of the preparation on the part of the besiegers, Teiresias, the blind prophet, discovers by divination that a great assault is intended, and informs Eteocles. Eteocles sends out spies to obtain further information, and at break of day calls the citizens to the acropolis; where, when the play opens, he is addressing to them an inspiring harangue. One of the spies presently returns; he confirms the warning of Teiresias, and describes the general plan of the attack. He has seen the seven selected leaders swearing their oath with a strange ceremony, and left them arranging by lot the distribution among them of the several gates. He does not yet know more than this, but he is going to make a second excursion with the advantage of daylight, and will then improve his report<sup>1</sup>. The question whether Polynices leads a division, being at present of no importance, does not arise; but of course probability would be strongly against any one chief out of a great number. And by an extremely skilful dramatic touch the spy is made to imply inadvertently that the seven are all *Argives*, in itself a very natural supposition; for he mentions that he saw them hang upon the chariot of Adrastus 'keepsakes of themselves *for their parents at home*'. If this had been strictly true of all the seven, Polynices could not have been of the number. Eteocles, though dreading the fulfilment of Oedipus' curse (v. 70), or rather because he dreads it and not unnaturally attributes the same feeling to his brother, conceives no suspicion, but hurries away, as advised by the spy, to place chosen champions on his part at the several gates. It should be observed that there is at this time no suggestion that Eteocles himself should be one of the Cadmean seven. On the contrary the language of the spy implies the more natural expectation that Eteocles within, as Adrastus without, will direct the defence generally<sup>2</sup>. (In the *Phoenissae* of Euripides, which relates the same event but with a wholly different plot, he actually does so<sup>3</sup>.)

Thus, if he had been left to carry out his plans at once, the fatal encounter could not without his deliberate will have come to pass. But scarcely has he left the acropolis, when a crowd of maidens (the Chorus) enter in wild disorder. They have heard that the crisis is

<sup>1</sup> Note the emphasis dexterously given at v. 66 to the fact that the first excursion of the spy was made in the dark. This is essential to the story. It appears afterwards that the spy did on this occasion notice a particular characteristic of Parthenopaeus (v. 516), but it is one which would have betrayed itself without

clear sight. Sophocles in the *Antigone* (v. 100) makes a fine use of the fact that the attack was made at sunrise.

<sup>2</sup> *ἄνδρας ἐκκρίτους πόλεως τάγεσθαι* 'appoint chosen men of thy citizens': note the middle voice.

<sup>3</sup> *Phoen.* 1163 etc.

impending and have seen signs that the enemy are already in motion. In uncontrollable terror they have fled, as by a common impulse, to the sanctuary of the acropolis, which they conceive to be under the special protection of the gods. They cling to the vestments and wreaths with which the sacred images are adorned, and pour out frantic supplications. Such panic terrors were supposed by the Greeks to be a special instrument of the gods, and on this occasion the effect is fatal. The spectacle of the maidens' flight and the noise of their cries have so far disheartened the defenders, that Eteocles is forced to suspend his arrangements and return to the acropolis to restore quiet (*vv.* 165). This with great difficulty and loss of time he succeeds in doing, and again rushes off to resume his dispositions at the wall. But before doing so he announces to all that he intends *himself to be one* of the seven Cadmean champions. This, as already noticed, is not the original nor the most natural plan. The necessity of re-assuring by personal example his dispirited men, some of whom have either actually fled in pursuit of the maidens to the acropolis or come there with the prince (*vv.* 167, 179), calls forth the declaration naturally enough: but it is a fatal step and fatally brought to pass. Even now however had he so far followed his first plan as to post his champions at once, the fatal contingency would still have been highly improbable. But at the last moment an unhappy thought strikes him. Fearing apparently, and with good reason, a renewal of the recent disturbance at the acropolis, particularly if alarming news should arrive there in his absence, he declares that *he will bring his six selected champions to the acropolis*, and complete there the assignment of their posts; for which he expects still to have time before the return of his spies<sup>1</sup>.

Once more, if this had so turned out, the event would probably have been different; and it certainly would have been, if on the other hand the spy had arrived at the acropolis before the king, and the names of the assailant leaders had become known before those for the defence were distributed. But though the chances against Destiny are thus many to one, the one fatal event occurs: the king's party with their attendants on the one hand, and the spy on the other, both at full speed, arrive,—as the expectants notice, little knowing the significance of the fact—*exactly together* (*vv.* 356—361).

<sup>1</sup> The manner in which this resolution is announced is peculiar and effective (*vv.* 269—271). The intention to return is suddenly disclosed by the word *μολών*, the sentence up to that word suggesting a wholly different expectation. This is

a deliberate artifice of the writer. The second plan, which is obviously inconvenient and arises only from a perplexed desire to be 'in two places at once', is really formed and adopted in the moment of speaking.

Still the favourable chances are by no means exhausted. If the spy makes his report, as on the first occasion, at once and without break, Eteocles will learn the truth, and will adapt his own dispositions accordingly. But here again heaven over-rules. The spy dashes at once into his report, but observes in the first few words that, though the enemy are in position, the attack is delayed for the present by Amphiaraus from defect of the auspices. He has thus time not only to give the names and distribution of the chiefs, but also to describe—a most important matter according to ancient conceptions—such peculiarities in the language or appearance of each, as may guide the king in selecting his champions with regard to the ‘good omen’ of the choice. In this dialogue the fatal course proceeds to a tragic climax. The spy, not knowing any special reason to the contrary, naturally describes the hostile champions in the order of the gates<sup>1</sup>. He reports, not without irony, their boasts and insolence, and pauses after each description that the king may name the opponent. Eteocles replies with great spirit, gaiety, and apparent success, making points to prove the *good fortune* of his choices, and jesting more freely than reverently to show his complete confidence. How this bearing, enhanced in effect by the solemn and sometimes ominous tone of the Chorus, would appear to Hellenic superstition, the modern reader may understand from an example near in time to ourselves, but in sentiment much nearer to Aeschylus. “*I think*”, says the old gardener in *Guy Mannering*, “*the gauger’s ‘fie’*: by which word the common people express those violent spirits which they think a presage of death.” At the sixth gate a graver tone is introduced by the recital of the final warnings addressed by Amphiaraus, the sixth champion on the Argive side, to Tydeus and Polynices, the chief authors of the war—one of the finest pieces of verse in Aeschylus. Eteocles replies with an edifying lamentation on the *recklessness of fortune, which confounds the judgments of heaven*. And now comes the climax. As the bystanders (and the audience) know that the seven are already chosen, though the distribution remained to be fixed, and that Eteocles himself is one, it has now become evident that the king has destined the seventh gate for himself, and is publicly committed to the enterprise. But the spy knows nothing of this, and announces point-blank that the assailant still unnamed, whom choice has placed among the seven and the order of the lot has assigned to the seventh gate,—is *Polynices*.

He then delivers, with unsuspicious fidelity, what is in fact a bitter personal challenge from Polynices to his brother; and perceiving the

<sup>1</sup> As to this order see below.

sensation which he has created, though unable to account for it, concludes with a stammering apology for doing his duty by a faithful report<sup>1</sup>.

Eteocles for the moment is utterly appalled<sup>2</sup>: but ashamed and afraid to go back from his promise, stung to fury by the challenge of Polynices, and above all, convinced by the course of these incidents that the destiny of his race is not to be averted, he puts on a desperate assurance, dashes aside the expostulations of the women, and rushes to meet his fate.

Thus ends the first part of the play, separated from the second by the assault and its defeat. It is remarkable that in the choric song which occupies this interval, there is not a trace of the wild agitation which the women display in the earlier scene. They are occupied entirely with the sin and the curse of Laius. Mere physical fear of the enemy is driven out by the more awful terrors of Destiny and the dread 'lest the city perish along with its princes'. The announcement of the catastrophe is grave and brief; the attack has failed at all the gates and the city is safe, but—the brothers have fallen by each other's hands<sup>3</sup>.

Thus the curse is finally fulfilled in the third generation; and "with a double victory the evil genius has finished his work" (v. 940). So think the Chorus, and not unnaturally, the house having now no male inheritor, and being as a royal house literally extinguished, so that the authority in the town is assumed, as on a vacancy, by a 'provisional government'<sup>4</sup>. But it soon appears that there is a sequel still. The bodies of the two princes are brought in by their sisters Antigone and

<sup>1</sup> vv. 636—639.

<sup>2</sup> vv. 640—641.

<sup>3</sup> At this point the text shows signs of some disturbance, of which different views have been taken. I have given in the notes to vv. 788—816 that which I think most probable. In what appears to have been the original version, the fulfilment of Destiny entirely overshadows and excludes from view the deliverance which accompanies it. This may not be wholly natural, but it is consistent with the scheme of the play, of which the subject is the doom of the house of Laius, not the escape of the town. Indeed the error, if such it be, is already committed in the previous choric song. The inser-

tions are just sufficient to supply a formal remedy to this defect. Whether they are improvements I shall not pretend to say. I think it possible, though not probable, that they are by the poet himself.

<sup>4</sup> On this curious 'anachronism' of politics see v. 997 and note. Of the daughters no account is taken, but of course no inference could be drawn from this *political* doctrine of inheritance, as to the doctrine of blood-relationship held either by the original author of the story, or by Aeschylus. It will be noticed that in Aeschylus' version, the punishment denounced by Apollo against Laius is pointed, perhaps intentionally, towards *political* disaster—*θράσκοντα γέννας ἀτερ σφίξεν πόλιν* v. 734.

Ismenē. The sisters and the Chorus join in singing their funeral dirge, and are about to give them burial in the royal sepulchre (v. 993), when a herald enters and announces a decree of the public authority. Eteocles shall receive the funeral honours which are his due; but Polynices, having deliberately made himself an enemy, shall be treated as such, and his body shall be cast out without any rites 'to be devoured by the fowls of the air'. Antigone indignantly declares her intention to frustrate this decree by performing herself the ritual acts necessary to 'burial', and the herald with an ineffectual protest retires. After some hesitation, half the Chorus resolve to support Antigone, the other half to obey the authorities. The two processions set forth accordingly, and the play closes under the cloud of fresh troubles to come.

## 2. *Cadmeans and Achaeans. The Cadmea.*

It will perhaps have been observed that in the preceding summary the city, which is the scene of the play, has received no name. It has no name, properly speaking, in the play itself, and it is not unimportant to mark this fact, for it is closely connected with other peculiarities of the Aeschylean story, interesting both from the artistic and the historic point of view. We call the play after Aristophanes 'The Seven against Thebes': but neither 'Thebes' or 'Thebans' are once mentioned in it, nor are these names in any way suggested to the mind. The city is always *the Cadmean city* (Καδμεία πόλις v. 997), *the city named after Cadmus* (ἐπώνυμος Κάδμου πόλις v. 125), the people always *Cadmeans*, the burghers or the descendants of *Cadmus* (Καδμείοι, Καδμογενεῖς etc., v. 1 and *passim*). This is the more remarkable, because it is, I believe, entirely peculiar to Aeschylus. Not only in Pindar, Sophocles and Euripides, but even in the rare and brief allusions of the Homeric poems<sup>1</sup>, the city besieged by Adrastus is named Θήβη or Θῆβαι: and though the names Καδμείοι (or Καδμείωνες) are applied to the inhabitants, these are, at least in the works of Aeschylus' contemporary Pindar and in those of the later Attic dramatists, merely poetical variations for *Theban* (Θηβαῖος), which is also used freely and without distinction. If this peculiarity of the Aeschylean nomenclature were an isolated fact, we might perhaps fancy that Aeschylus, for some obscure reason, purposely avoided the name of *Thebes*, though knowing it to be appropriate to his story. But further examination shows that no such artificial

<sup>1</sup> e.g. *Il.* iv. 388. These allusions are almost always connected with the praises of Tydeus or Tydeus' son Diomedes, which

would alone show that they follow some tradition widely different from that of Aeschylus and probably Argive.

supposition is necessary or admissible. Aeschylus calls the town of his imagination ἡ Καδμεία simply because it is the *Cadmean City*, because in the very ancient and simple story which he followed it had no other name, and he in this and other such matters faithfully reflects his original.

It is of course well known that the Boeotians and Thebans of history did not pretend to be the earliest inhabitants of their country and city. It was not, according to Thucydides, till the sixtieth year after the taking of Ilium that a tribe from Arne in Thessaly brought with them their name of Βωωτοί into 'the country previously called the *Cadmeis*'<sup>1</sup>. And although for common purposes it might be said that Cadmus founded 'Thebes', and a poet might even be excused for saying that it was 'an evil day for Thebes when Cadmus came there', it was not supposed that such language was accurate. 'Cadmus', says Pausanias, 'founded the city which retains to the present day the name *Cadmea*. When the city afterwards increased, the *Cadmea* became the acropolis to the lower city of *Thebes*'<sup>2</sup>. This city was built and named, according to Pausanias, by invaders, Amphion and Zethus, who during the infancy of Laius for a time dispossessed the Cadmean dynasty; and he quotes the statement of the *Odyssey* (xi. 262) that 'these, ALphion and Zethus, were the first who built the seat of Thebé with seven gates, and walled it; for strong though they were, they could not dwell without walls in spacious Thebé'. Without following the Greek antiquaries in their attempt to construct out of the legends a continuous history with names and dates, we may accept the tradition that Thebes, like other towns, grew by accretion to a small primitive fortress, and that this fortress was called from the first as always the πόλις Καδμεία. It was of this primitive city that the story dramatized by Aeschylus was first told, and it has come down to us through him almost pure in its Cadmean shape. As the name of Thebes is not present in his work, so neither is the Theban religion. Thebes is the city of Amphion, of Heracles, and above all of the god Bacchus. In the *Oedipus Tyrannus*, when the gods of Thebes are invoked to stay a pestilence, it is the 'ruddy Bacchus named with the name of this land' whose invocation concludes the prayer. In the *Antigone*, when the gods of Thebes are to be thanked for the defeat of the Argives, it is ὁ Θήβας ἐλελίχθων Βάκχιος who is invited to lead the festivity. In the *Phoenissae* it is a chief glory of Thebes to be the birth-place of Βρόμιος, Βάκχιον χόρευμα παρθένοισι Θηβαίαις<sup>4</sup>. But in this play, when

<sup>1</sup> πρότερον Καδμηίδα γῆν καλουμένην  
Thuc. i. 12.

<sup>2</sup> Eur. *Phoen.* 4, 5.

<sup>3</sup> Paus. 9. 5. 2.

<sup>4</sup> *Oed. Tyr.* 210, *Ant.* 154, *Phoen.* 655.



the gods of the Cadmeans are summoned, one after another, to defend the town, the *Thebanus deus*, the grandson, according to the Bacchic legend, of Cadmus himself, is never mentioned, nor is there any reference throughout to the persons or the stories connected with his name<sup>1</sup>. Heracles also is entirely absent. The name of Amphion, the second founder, who in the *Antigone* has equal honour with the first founder Cadmus<sup>2</sup>, does just occur as that of a hero buried near one of the gates (*v.* 515); but this mention only makes more conspicuous the fact that he is never mentioned as founder, nor connected at all with the religion of the place. The only religious legend known is the legend of Cadmus, and that in the simplest shape,—his marriage with Harmonia (*union*), the daughter of Ares (*masculine courage*) and Cypris (*feminine beauty*), and the sowing of the serpent's teeth (*vv.* 125, 399). Of his connexion with Tyre, which is so prominent in the *Phoenissae*, or with the Egyptian Thebes, there is not a hint, a significant indication that, as might be suspected on other grounds, these tales did not belong to the primitive and genuine tradition of an inland town in Boeotia<sup>3</sup>.

Equally peculiar to Aeschylus are the ethnic relations of the combatants. The Peloponnesus, like Boeotia itself, is in this play not yet Dorian, and the besieging confederacy are called consistently and distinctively by the name given by Homer to all Greeks, *Achaean*s, a name which in the rival play of the *Phoenissae*, for example, does not occur at all. And what is perhaps even more remarkable as a proof of antique tradition, the *Hellenic* name is used in a manner which appears to be absolutely without parallel. As the Achaia of this play is much narrower than that of Homer and much larger than that of history, so the Hellas of this play is neither the small Homeric Hellas, a part of a part of Thessaly, nor the 'modern Hellas' of Thucydides. The Cadmeans speak the tongue of *Hellas* (*v.* 72) and observe the *Hellenic* customs (*v.* 255); the invaders are of alien speech (*v.* 155) and have uses which the Cadmeans regard as not Hellenic<sup>4</sup>. This language,

<sup>1</sup> Language derived from the religion of Bacchus is occasionally used by the speakers (*Ovids* in *vv.* 485, 821), but this of course no more proves that the story followed by Aeschylus recognized that religion than *v.* 263 proves that it contained the word *τροπαία*.

<sup>2</sup> *Ant.* 1155 Κάδμου πάροικοι καὶ δόμων Ἀμφίονος.

<sup>3</sup> It would not be here to the purpose

to investigate the origin of the Phoenician element in the story; but I incline to the view that it is no genuine myth at all, but the deliberate fabrication of quasi-historic antiquarians, building on a few casual or fancied etymologies such as that of *Onca* or *Onga*; see Paus. 9. 12. 2.

<sup>4</sup> *βάρβαρον* τρόπον *v.* 450. The use of the word *βάρβαρος* must probably be regarded as an 'anachronism' like that

peculiar as it is, admits of a historic explanation. The stages by which the Hellenic name was extended cannot now be exactly traced, but we should naturally suppose that a name which began in Phthiotis must have established itself as a general name in the regions north of the Isthmus some time before it was carried by the 'Dorian invasion' into the Peloponnesus; and at this period the story of the siege of the Cadmea seems to have taken the shape in which we find it in this play.

From an artistic point of view the chief interest of these facts is in their bearing on the topography of the play. Euripides in the *Phoenissae*, though his nomenclature is altogether confused, retains for his 'Thebes' one archaic quality, namely that it is very small. 'What success we have won before the towers', says a soldier to Creon, 'thou knowest, for the circuit of the walls is not so long but that thou must know what is done'<sup>1</sup>. This is convenient for the moment, though in some ways it would better have suited the story of Euripides to suppose the city larger. But in Aeschylus a very small circuit is essential to the narrative. When the spy on his second return describes the position of the besiegers, the seven assailants are already at or near their respective posts, and waiting only the permission of Amphiarus to commence the attack. Yet three of them, Tydeus at the first gate, Amphiarus at the sixth, and Polynices at the seventh, are within speaking distance; Tydeus is taunting Amphiarus, and Amphiarus replying with denunciations of Tydeus and Polynices,—a dialogue highly important to the moral effect of the piece<sup>2</sup>. And with this is connected another point even more important: *the order of the gates in the description of the spy is a known fixed order, and is supposed to be the order of place*<sup>3</sup>. That it is not a casual order is shown by the allusions to the manner of allotment among the assailants; the lot of the Argive Eteoclus, coming out third from the helmet in which they were shaken, assigned him to the gate *Neistae* (v. 445), and so forth; language which implies of itself that the gate in question is the third. It must also be an order known to the spy independently of the allotment, which he did not witness, though he has seen the positions taken by the various chiefs as the result of it. Moreover, the last gate is described simply as *The Seventh* (v. 618); since the name is given or implied in every other case, it is

of *τροπαιῶν* in v. 263, but so far as it marks a contrast between 'Achaeans' and 'Hellenes' it is perfectly consistent with the rest of the play.

<sup>1</sup> *Phoen.* 1356.

<sup>2</sup> See the whole description, especially

vv. 364—370, 487, 514—515, 557—564.

<sup>3</sup> The order is (1) *Πρωτῖδες*, (2) *Ἡλεκτραι*, (3) *Νηϊῶται*, (4) *Ὀγκαῖαι* (?), (5) *Βορραῖαι*, (6) *Ὀμολωῖδες*, (7) *Ἐβδόμαι*.

reasonable to suppose that this is the *proper* name, which would alone go far to prove that the order of enumeration is local<sup>1</sup>. The express indications of place also correspond, as far as they go. The gate *Electrae*, which its name<sup>2</sup>, as well as extraneous proof, shows to have been the southern, is second, the *North Gate* is fifth. The first gate is fixed on the east side by the mention of the *Ismenus* and, by its proximity to the second, at the south-east. The sixth, seventh and first gates, which are the head-quarters of the Argive attack, would thus be, as we should naturally expect, those of the east side. In short nothing in the play suggests that the order is not supposed to be local; everything suggests that it is: and it would not be necessary to enlarge on the matter, if it were not that the attempt has been sometimes made to use Aeschylus' true or imaginary picture of the *Cadmea* as an authority on the topography of *Thebes*, and in particular to combine, as referring to one and the same wall, the data of Aeschylus and of the traveller Pausanias<sup>3</sup>. As this supposition would, in my opinion, make the history, scenery, and plot of the play unintelligible, it must be briefly considered.

Pausanias visited and described Thebes in the second century A.D. In the six centuries between this time and that of Aeschylus the city had been altered and refortified several times, and once at least (by Alexander the Great) totally destroyed. Pausanias' account of the legendary sites is derived apparently from his guides, and it may be worth noting that this play is not mentioned in it. Considering all this, even if we knew that the poet and the traveller meant to describe cities occupying the same area, it would be unreasonable to expect that the descriptions should tally very closely. But in fact one of the few things, which the confused account of Pausanias can be said to establish with certainty, is this, that the town of Aeschylus' story, so far from being co-extensive with Pausanias' *Thebes*, did not even cover the whole of what at the later time was called *The Acropolis* and supposed to be the foundation of Cadmus. There are two points fixed in the course of the Aeschylean wall; (1) that the place (and image?) sacred to \*Ογκα or \*Ογγα, a local deity identified with Pallas, was *outside* the wall near the fourth gate (*vv.* 473, 488; see also *v.* 149): (2) that the 'barrow of Amphion' was opposite the fifth or *North* gate and—the description naturally suggests this if it does not absolutely assert it—outside the

<sup>1</sup> Euripides also gives names (not always those of Aeschylus) to six gates, and describes one simply as \*Εβδομαι; *Phoen.* 1134.

<sup>2</sup> The *Shining Gate* or *Gate of the Sun*; see *Lex. s. v.* ἡλέκτωρ.

<sup>3</sup> See Smith's *Dictionary of Geography, Thebæ Boeotiae*.

wall (v. 515). Now the altar and image of Ὀγγα are mentioned by Pausanias in connexion with 'that part of the upper city which in our time is converted into an ἀγορά' (καθ' ὅτι τῆς ἀκροπόλεως ἀγορὰ ἐφ' ἡμῶν πεποιήται); and here according to his informants had been the site of the house of Cadmus, the dedicator of the statue<sup>1</sup>. The 'not very large mound of earth', which was shown to Pausanias as the monument of Amphion and Zethus, was also within the walls, and apparently at some distance from the nearest gate<sup>2</sup>. It is interesting however to notice, that the *position* of these two monuments, as distinguished from their relation to the wall, accords with Aeschylus very well. What was shown as the altar of Onca seems to have lain north and a little west of the hill properly called the *Cadmea*, the tomb of Amphion north and a little east of it, as they should lie, if Aeschylus' city is the Cadmean hill itself with a small area round it<sup>3</sup>. Whether the real Καδμεία πόλις of ancient times really had a wall with seven gates, or whether this feature was historically true only of the enlarged city of Thebes, and has been worked into the primitive story by Aeschylus or some predecessor, we cannot say, nor for artistic purposes does it matter. But it is not unimportant that the order of the gates should be imagined as a natural order according to which they are known and familiarly named. For it is thus that the postponement of Polynices' gate to the end of the report is seen to be natural and unpremeditated, and this, as will be seen from the preceding section, is material to the plot<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Paus. 9. 12 §§ 2, 3. Thebes was a decaying place at that time, and the upper city only was inhabited, having apparently been much altered to suit the changed condition of things.

<sup>2</sup> Paus. 9. 16 § 4, 17 § 4, 18 § 1. Pausanias is so irregular and discursive that any statement depending on his descriptions of locality must be made with reserve; but it seems that from 16 § 4 he takes the sites from his gate *Proetides* inwards, from 18 § 1 outwards; and this is the view adopted in Forchhammer's plan.

<sup>3</sup> See Forchhammer's plan, based on Pausanias, and given in the article above cited. As to supposing the *Thebes* of this plan to be the Καδμεία πόλις of Aeschylus, it is sufficient to note that Tydeus and Amphiaras, waiting near the

gates Proetides and Homoloides respectively, would be more than a mile apart.

<sup>4</sup> Of the names of the gates, the origin is quite uncertain except in the case of the Ἠλεκτραι. But it is possible that the names Προειδῆς and Νήϊται, or as Aeschylus gives it Νήϊσται, are really local, and derived from προ-ι-τος and νη-ι-τος meaning respectively *Foremost* and *Hindmost* or *Front* and *Back*. For the latter compare νήρη. According to Aeschylus' plan the Προειδῆς must be on the east side towards the Ismenus, the Νήϊσται (being between the Ἠλεκτραι and the gate of Onca) on the west side. It is natural that the city should be conceived as 'fronting' towards its chief river, and this also accords with the fact that the order of enumeration begins with the Προειδῆς. Aeschylus himself derives Προειδῆς from an epony-

Small as the *Καδμεία πόλις* is, it has still two parts; (i) the top of the hill or *ἀκρόπολις* (sometimes called as at Athens by the name *πόλις* in a narrower sense), where are the wooden images of the *πολισσοῦχοι θεοί*; and (ii) the lower area enclosed by the wall. The scene is laid in the sanctuary on the top of the hill.

Although Aeschylus' play is not of course an archaeological study and exhibits more than one 'anachronism', the colouring of it corresponds well enough on the whole with the archaic limits of the locality. The *Thebes* of Sophocles and Euripides is, like the historical Thebes of Pindar, a city of chariots and horses (Soph. *Ant.* 149, Eur. *Phoen.* 1190 etc.). But in this play nothing is more remarkable than the terror caused among the Cadmeans by the chariots and horses which the Achaeans have brought from *aptum equis Argos*. For the Cadmean maidens excuse might be made, extravagant as are their screams at the rattle of a wheel or the sound of a hoof; but even Eteocles is made to talk of the enemy's horses very much as a Roman might have talked of the elephants of Pyrrhus. The heroes of Homer would scarcely have thought it high praise of a soldier's bravery to say that he would not fly 'at the roaring neigh of impatient horses' (v. 462). Of Cadmean chariots or horses we hear nothing<sup>1</sup>; and consistently with this we observe that the arms of the Achaeans generally and their skill in working metal are a subject of amazement, and even horror, to the Cadmean narrator (v. 477). The shields borne by the Achaean *λευκάσπιδες*, their make and decoration, are objects of the liveliest interest. On the Cadmean side the accoutrements are in every sense much humbler, and though several Cadmean 'blazons' are described or mentioned, there is no sign that the shields were even of metal, while the manner in which the chorus start at the sound or imagined sound of 'brazen shields' (v. 145) goes to show that in the *Cadmea* it was at least not very familiar. Indeed throughout the play the splendour

mous person *Προῖτος*, but this we may class with the derivation of Ludgate from King Lud. From the description of the attack in the *Phoenissae* (1090 foll.) nothing definite can be gathered as to the position of the gates: though it adds a certain point to the expression *καὶ πρῶτα μὲν προσῆγε Νηίσταις πύλαις λόχον... Παρθενοπαῖος* (ib. 1104), if Euripides also, like Aeschylus, conceived this gate to be the *farthest* from the point whence the Argives started. However the nomenclature and frame of Euripides' play are so

different from those of Aeschylus', that it is not safe to combine them. The conception of Euripides seems to be made up of touches from the prehistoric Cadmea and the historic Thebes. The other descriptions cited in the *Dictionary of Geography* (from Nonnus, Hyginus and others) have even less bearing on the Aeschylean plan; which taken by itself is perfectly clear and consistent.

<sup>1</sup> Unless the title *Ἰππιος* given to Poseidon in v. 122 may be taken as a trace of such.

and power of the Achaeans and their overweening reliance on their advantages are prominent topics, and serve to point the moral of their defeat. And these traits, though the details may be freely imagined by the poet, were in the main given by the tradition; for they recur in Pindar, who certainly did not go to the Athenian dramatists for his conceptions of Theban war. Pindar narrates how the host of Adrastus, defying the monitions of Zeus, 'hasted to come unto fore-shown destruction *with their weapons of brass and with their chariot-gear*' (χαλκείους ὀπλοῖσιν ἱππείους τε σὺν ἔντεσιν *Nem.* 9. 22). It is possible that the tradition itself was a work of pure imagination, but it has all the air of reality; and it is quite credible that at the time of the contests dimly reflected in this story the Cadmeans really had little metal and no war-chariots or horses trained for war, or were at least signally deficient in these respects. They were certainly ruder than their adversaries, or at least so imagined by Aeschylus, in other respects; for while the art of expressing ideas "by combinations of figures" is mentioned not without respect (*v.* 455), the Cadmeans themselves, if they can read, have not disused that more primitive method of expression, in which "swift" is rendered not by the letters ὤκεις or ποδώκης, but simply by the picture of a foot (*vv.* 541, 610). Of the besieging army we hear little but that it is vast, mighty in horses and chariots, and composed of various peoples. The oath of the seven is sworn by Ares and Phobos, Ares having the added title of Enyos (Ἐννώς), perhaps to distinguish him from the Cadmean Ares<sup>1</sup>. Ἄρης Ἐννώλιος and Φόβος appear in Homer as Achaean gods; the name Ἐννώς apparently occurs here only.

But there is one thing which Aeschylus neither says nor in any way suggests concerning the Achaean expedition, though by an obvious and easily explicable error he is often supposed to say it: and that is, that it was conducted by seven chiefs. When Pausanias visited Argos, he was shown the statues of Polynices and the other six of the chiefs accompanying Adrastus, who fell in the attack on the Theban wall, and was informed that the reduction of the number to seven was due to the authority of Aeschylus, which had been followed even at Argos, though in reality the Argive chiefs alone had been more numerous, and others besides had joined them from Messene and Arcadia<sup>2</sup>. The in-

<sup>1</sup> *v.* 45. See note.

<sup>2</sup> Paus. II. 20. 4. ἀνδριάντες ἐστήκασιν Πολυνεικοῦς τοῦ Οἰδίποδος καὶ ὅσοι σὺν ἐκείνῳ τῶν ἐν τέλει πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος μαχόμενοι τῶν Θηβαίων ἐτελεύτησαν. τοὺτους τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐς μόνων ἑπτὰ ἀριθμὸν κατῆ-

γαγεν Αἰσχύλος, πλείονων ἐκ τε Ἀργεῶν ἡγεμόνων καὶ Μεσσηνίας καὶ τινῶν καὶ Ἀρκάδων στρατευσαμένων. τούτων δὲ τῶν ἑπτὰ, ἐπηκολούθησιν γὰρ καὶ Ἀργεῖοι τῇ Αἰσχύλου ποιήσει, πλείονων κέινται κτλ.

formants of Pausanias may possibly have meant only that the prominence given in the play to a certain seven, as the leaders of the divisions in the final attack, had caused their confederates to be forgotten; which is the truth. But they very likely believed that Aeschylus himself, *like some of his successors*, represented the seven as the leaders of the expedition; for the same thing is stated repeatedly in modern books<sup>1</sup>. It is however a mistake, and a mistake of serious consequence to the comprehension of the play. Aeschylus followed in this, as in other matters, the old tradition, the tradition which the guides of Pausanias supposed him to have falsified. His 'seven' are the leaders not of the expedition but of the great and final attack. The expedition has one leader, Adrastus, and the seven are chosen, or volunteer, for this particular service from the multitude of chiefs acting under him. That there were seven leaders of the expedition and no more Aeschylus not only does not say, but his whole plot presumes and requires the contrary. For in that case the *ἄνδρες ἑπτά* of the spy's first report (v. 42) must have been identified at once, and the subsequent evolution and crisis of the drama would have no meaning. It would indeed be not a connected story at all, but a mere string of casual incidents; and perhaps a belief that this is so may account for the comparatively slight attention which the play has received in modern times.

### 3. *The Sequel of the Story. The Burial of the Argive Leaders. The Expedition of the Epigoni.*

As to the immediate result of the Achæan attack the legend of Aeschylus, as it is foreshown by the hints and anticipations of this play, accords with the general tradition. The attack was defeated, Capaneus was slain by the thunder which he defied, and all the other leaders fell in fight save the pious Amphiaraus. For him the bolt of Zeus clave the earth under his chariot as he fled, and so he passed away<sup>2</sup>. Having thus accomplished his own predictions, he enjoyed perpetual honour as the semi-divine patron of an oracle famous throughout antiquity. Of the Cadmean champions, Eteocles fell by the hand of his brother, and Melanippus, though he slew his opponent Tydeus, was

<sup>1</sup> For example Grote, *History of Greece* vol. I. (8 vol. edn.) p. 228, says "The Attic dramatists describe this expedition as having been conducted by seven chiefs, one to each of the seven celebrated gates of Thebes". Sophocles does (*O. C.* 1305)

and Euripides; but this is one of the innumerable details in which the dramatists differ.

<sup>2</sup> Pind. *Nem.* 9. 24. See on *vv.* 554, 616.

himself also slain apparently in pursuit by Amphiaraus, according to the ominous fear of the Cadmean maidens<sup>1</sup>. The Argive army, foiled in this great attack, fled hastily away<sup>2</sup>.

But we cannot infer from this general agreement that the sequel of the story, as imagined by Aeschylus, included all the incidents which may be found elsewhere. There are here, as in the story itself, many differences of detail, and some of general importance, between different writers. One of the most important relates to the treatment of the Argive dead. In the civilized times of Hellas it was a religious duty to accord even to an enemy those rites of sepulture on which the future well-being of the dead was supposed to depend. In the time of Aeschylus it was a regular sequel to a battle, that the defeated side 'took up their dead under protection of a truce', accorded for the express purpose. But the establishment of this practice was a comparatively late refinement. Terrible as it was to receive no burial, this was in the 'heroic' times a part of the risk which the warrior ran. The conqueror might grant him burial, as he might grant him life, but both were a matter of grace, and both, as we see in Homer, were often refused. To the heroic bard it seems a natural part of the horrors of war that, as is said in the opening of the *Iliad*, it 'gives men to feast the dogs and birds'. When the vanquished has given any special provocation the victor exacts without scruple the fullest revenge in his power. Apart therefore from direct evidence we might assume that in a story so ancient as that of the Cadmea the bodies of those who would have destroyed the Cadmean liberties were treated, when they fell into the power of the Cadmeans, according to their deserts; that they were not buried, but 'cast to the dogs and to the birds'; and that no very ancient version of the story made this matter the subject either of apology or of invective. It happens moreover that in spite of the loss of the epic poems we have positive evidence upon the point. Pausanias<sup>3</sup>, after describing

<sup>1</sup> *vv.* 404—408. Cf. Pausanias IX. 18. 1. His tomb was shown to Pausanias near the gate *Proetides* which he defended. The general language of *v.* 784 does not exclude the subsequent death of one of the champions. There are probably more allusions like *v.* 406 in the language used respecting each Argive and Cadmean champion, which we, not having the Aeschylean legend as a whole, are unable to follow.

<sup>2</sup> Of the general battle before the walls, which according to some versions (*e.g.*

the *Phoenissae*) succeeds the attack of the gates, Aeschylus says nothing, and it could scarcely find a place in his story. (See *vv.* 777—787). Indeed the proverbial phrase 'Cadmean victory' for a dear-bought victory, which is associated with this battle (Paus. IX. 9. 3), comes plainly from the Argive counter-legend, to which also belongs the story of the *Epigoni*. Aeschylus' story in this play is purely Cadmean.

<sup>3</sup> Paus. IX. 18. 2.



the grave of Melanippus, the slayer of Tydeus, which was shown to him at Thebes, continues thus: "Close to this are three unwrought stones. It is asserted by those Thebans, who record the antiquities of their town<sup>1</sup>, that it is Tydeus who lies there, and that he was buried by Maion: in proof of which statement they produced a verse from the *Iliad*, Τυδέος δὲν Θήβησι χυτὴ κατὰ γαῖα καλύπτει." Unluckily this verse was not to be found in the best copies of the *Iliad*, and was known by the ancient critics to be a forgery<sup>2</sup>. The *Iliad* however did record in another place that Tydeus on a certain occasion spared the life of Maion<sup>3</sup>. This curious story reveals the following facts: (1) writers of Thebes were anxious to prove that the deviser of Adrastus' expedition was buried there; (2) the ancient evidence did not support them, for they tried to garble it; and (3) they were obliged to do this with caution, claiming for Tydeus only an obscure and private burial, and accounting for it in a way which being peculiar to his case could not, strictly speaking, prove anything beyond it. Clearly therefore the documents most in point, the Cadmean or Theban epics, did not assert that the Cadmeans buried or permitted the burial of their fallen enemies, and if they did not assert the contrary, at least assumed it. The same inference may be drawn from the Athenian legend which supplies the plot of Euripides' *Suppliants*. According to this, Adrastus, being refused permission to bury his companions, repaired to Athens and implored the aid of Theseus against this outrageous cruelty; whereupon the generous and humane Athenians marched to Thebes, defeated the insolent victors, and brought the bodies to Eleusis, where Adrastus buried them and their graves were shown. Of this story, which like many of the Athenian legends bears marks of a late origin, it is plain that no part can possibly have belonged to the original Cadmean version, except the fact that the Cadmeans did not give their enemies burial. This, as it does not of itself tend to the glory of Athens, we may reasonably suppose that the Athenian narrators did not invent but found; and the use which they made of it throws light upon the motives of the Theban antiquarians, who tried to get rid of it. But there was one Theban who disdained their modest methods of insinuation and interpolation. Pindar has himself informed us that he did not feel himself bound by the authority of traditions which he thought dishonourable to religion<sup>4</sup>; and we should do wrong to suppose him less bold in the sacred duty of defending his native town. Twice

<sup>1</sup> Θηβαίων οἱ τὰ ἀρχαῖα μνημονεύοντες δὲ Ἀριστοφάνει οὐκ ἦν. Schol.  
Τυδέα φασὶν κτλ.

<sup>2</sup> *Il.* XIV. 114. Ζηρύδοτος ἡθέτει, παρὰ

<sup>3</sup> *Il.* IV. 398.

<sup>4</sup> *Ol.* I. 36.

in his extant poems he makes occasion to say with circumstantial precision, that Adrastus solemnly burnt his dead, with the exception of Amphiaraus, *on Theban soil*, exactly as he would have been permitted to do in Pindar's own time<sup>1</sup>. We need not however go beyond Pindar's own words to discover that he is here performing the office of a good Theban, as described by Euripides, not without malice, through the mouth of Cadmus—"If this (Dionysus) be not a god, as thou sayest, let him be so styled in thy house, and *maintain the honourable falsehood of his divinity*, that all our race may have the more glory"<sup>2</sup>. It is no easy thing to interpolate successfully an ancient story, and both the Athenian fiction and the Theban fiction involve a difficulty of which Pindar at least was perfectly conscious. If all the Argive dead obtained due honours, *how was the divine justice manifested in the case of Amphiaraus?* Amphiaraus is the one virtuous man drawn by circumstances into a wicked enterprise, against which he protests to the last<sup>3</sup>. Moral feeling requires that his fate should be sharply distinguished from that of his companions. The ancient legend fulfilled this requirement perfectly: Amphiaraus ended indeed his mortal life, but in a miraculous manner, which saved him from the worst part of death and secured to him eternal honour. In fact the gods themselves provided him with honourable burial. But if Tydeus and the rest all received as of course solemn and peaceful obsequies, with funeral orations by the eloquent Adrastus (which Pindar asserts), the holy prophet was distinguished from the reckless murderer only by an end doubtfully preferable and (to his disadvantage) by missing the consolation of the dirge, the gifts, and the encomium! Adrastus indeed seems to have felt this painfully. "I miss", he said *at Thebes*, when the corpses of the seven pyres were complete, "I miss the eye of mine army, my prophet and warrior in one"<sup>4</sup>. But, explains Pindar in the other passage,

<sup>1</sup> *Ol.* VI. 15; *Nem.* IX. 22. The second passage ('Ισμηνοῦ δ' ἐπ' ὄχθαισι γλυκὺν νόστον ἐρυσσάμενοι λευκανθέα σώματ' ἐπ' ἄνα κληῖν) is not absolutely inconsistent with the supposition that the burial took place elsewhere, though no one could fail to understand it in the opposite sense. The first is fully, and indeed superfluously, explicit about the place of the ceremony,—εἶπεν [Ἀδραστος] ἐν Θήβαισι τοιοῦτόν τι ἔπος.

<sup>2</sup> Eur. *Bacch.* 333.

<sup>3</sup> See *vv.* 555—612 of this play.

<sup>4</sup> *Ol.* VI. 16. The seven pyres are those of the Argive dead, leaders and others, one for each division. A scholium on this passage says, and no doubt truly, that the words of Adrastus are partly taken from the cyclic *Thebais* (see on *v.* 556 of this play). It does not however say that Pindar had ancient authority for the circumstances under which they were spoken. I have given above what I now think the true version of the words ἐπὶ πυρῶν νεκρῶν τελεσθέντων. The question is not here material.

Amphiaraus really gained something ; for he escaped, although he fled, the disgrace that it would have been to his courage as a warrior, if his back had been actually smitten by the pursuer's spear !

ἐπὰὶ γὰρ δαΐσαντο πυραὶ νεογύνους φώτας· ὁ δ' Ἀμφιάρῃ σχίσσεν  
κεραννῶ παμβία

Ζεὺς τὰν βαθύστερνον χθόνα, κρύψεν δ' ἄμ' ἵπποις,

δουρὶ Περικλυμένου πρὶν νῶτα τυπέντα μαχατὰν

θυμὸν αἰσχυνθήμεν. ἐν γὰρ δαιμονίοισι φόβοις φεύγοντι καὶ παῖδες  
θεῶν<sup>1</sup>.

The verses are fine : but critics unfavourable to Thebes must have smiled at the lame result of a conflict between patriotism and piety.

In this matter also the story of Aeschylus is thoroughly antique. The emphasis laid by Amphiaraus on the fact that *he*, in the event of defeat, may hope for burial (*v.* 574) loses its meaning if we do not realize that this from the 'heroic' point of view is an exceptional privilege. And the ancient moral of Amphiaraus' fate is fully displayed in the speech of Eteocles respecting him. Eteocles blindly supposes that the virtuous, acting with the wicked, must be confounded in their doom. But the justice of heaven was not to be thus misled. The Euripidean sequel is not denied by the Aeschylean story, which requires only that the Argives should have risked the loss of burial, not necessarily that they should have incurred it. But it is entirely ignored, and is in fact inconsistent with the spirit of the play though not with the letter. The Pindaric sequel contradicts the letter, and must be regarded for the present purpose as false. The matter is important not only to the case of Amphiaraus, but also to the second subject of the play, the burial of Polynices. It is doubtful whether this subject belonged to the ancient epics at all, but it is treated by Aeschylus (if we overlook a formal anachronism<sup>2</sup>) entirely in the spirit of the heroic age. In the *Antigone* of Sophocles it is by the order of a despot that burial is refused to Polynices ; his subjects comply, but pointedly decline

<sup>1</sup> *Nem.* ix. 24. Pindar, we may notice, knows nothing of the later theory that Amphiaraus 'was made immortal', any more than Oedipus was 'made immortal' by his mysterious disappearance in Sophocles' *Coloneus*. Amphiaraus existed after death as any other *ψυχή* which had been provided with the means of existence by the burial of the body, and of course retained his prophetic powers.

The notion of his immortality belongs to an age when changes of manners had made the true bearing of the ancient story unintelligible. Euripides passes the matter over with careless ambiguity: *καὶ μὴν τὸν Οἰκλέους γε γενναῖον τόκον θεοὶ ζῶντ' ἀναρπάσαντες ἐς μυχὸς χθονὸς αὐτοῖς τεθρίπποις εὐλογοῦσιν ἐμφανῶς.* (*Suppl.* 925).

<sup>2</sup> See on *v.* 997.

to approve or to concur<sup>1</sup>. In Aeschylus the proclamation is issued by those claiming to represent the mass of the citizens, and it is intimated that they are fully supported by public feeling<sup>2</sup>. The womanly revolt of Antigone divides the opinion only of women. Yet the reasoning of Creon in the *Antigone* and of the council here is precisely the same:—Polynices has behaved as an enemy; therefore let him be treated as such. This argument seems unsatisfactory in 'Thebes'; it is found conclusive in the Cadmea. The difference arises on the tacit premiss that burial may properly be refused to an enemy.

The Cadmean legend of Adrastus' expedition was answered by an Argive legend of reprisal; according to which the heroes of 'the next generation' avenged their fathers, and one of these ἐπίγονοι, Thersander, the son of Polynices by an Argive princess, was placed on the throne of Thebes. There existed in antiquity a play entitled 'Επίγονοι attributed to Aeschylus. The few lines of it which survive<sup>3</sup> are insufficient to show what was the story of it, or even whether it was genuine<sup>4</sup>. It is not likely to have had any direct connexion with this play, which, Cadmean in this as in other respects, ignores the whole story, and supposes the house of Laius to be extinguished by the death of the last male heirs<sup>5</sup>.

#### 4. *The Occasion of the Curse of Oedipus.*

A few words must be added on a part of the story extremely obscure, but fortunately of little importance to this play,—the exact circumstances under which the curse of Oedipus was pronounced. All that we know of it is contained in *vv.* 765—775, which relate that, on the discovery of the truth respecting his marriage,

ἐπ' ἄλγαι δυσφορῶν  
μαينوμένα καρδίᾳ  
δίδυμα κάκ' ἐτέλεσεν  
πατροφόνῃ χειρὶ τῶν

<sup>1</sup> *Soph. Ant.* 191—222 and *passim*.

<sup>2</sup> *vv.* 995, 1017, 1033—1042, 1053, 1058, 1061—2.

<sup>3</sup> *Aesch. fragg.* (Dindorf) 52, 53, 54.

<sup>4</sup> In drawing conclusions from the ancient citations of lost tragedies we must not lose sight of the possibility of forgery, which was certainly practised, and pro-

bably to a large extent. It would be easy to arrange a set of fragments from the *Rhesus* (called 'of Euripides') which would support the ascription of it to any one of the three great tragedians. Having the whole play, we see that it was not written by any of them.

<sup>5</sup> *vv.* 885—889 and note.

769. κρείσσω τέκνων δ' ἀπ' ὀμμάτων ἐπλάγχθη.†  
 τέκνοις δ' ἀραίᾳς  
 ἐφῆκεν ἐπικότους τροφάς,  
 αἰαῖ, πικρογλώσσους ἀράς,  
 καὶ σφε σιδαρονόμῳ  
 διὰ χερὶ ποτε λαχεῖν  
 κτήματα.

It happens that this is one of the few passages in the play which are seriously injured. It is evident that in *v.* 769 there is grave error, and that in *vv.* 770—772 there is some error more or less<sup>1</sup>: and the story itself being unknown, restoration is impossible. But it is clear (and this is the chief matter) that it was the madness of Oedipus, rather than any adequate offence of his sons, which brought about the curse. It was part of the fatality of the house of Laius that terrible issues should follow from inadequate and even trivial causes. And it also seems clear that the indignation of the father was connected with the manner in which he was fed or maintained (*τροφή, τροφαί*). Beyond this we cannot go with certainty. I have added below what seems to me the most probable conjecture<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> As to the metrical question, see the *Appendix* on the metres. In my opinion *v.* 770 is not impeachable on this ground.

<sup>2</sup> The passages bearing on this question are given by Grote, following Leutsch, in the *History of Greece*, Part I. chap. xiv. before cited. The scholiast on Soph. *Oed. Col.* 1378 says that the account of Aeschylus in the *Septem* resembled the account of the *Thebais*, τὰ δὲ παραπλήσια τῷ ἐποποιῷ καὶ Διοσχύλῳ ἐν τοῖς Ἑπτὰ ἐπὶ Θήβας. The *Thebais* represented Oedipus as having cursed his sons οὕτω αὐτῷ παρέθηκαν ἐκπώματα ἃ ἀπηγορεύκει (Athenaeus xii. p. 465). He had forbidden that he should be served with the silver table and golden cup belonging to his fathers; but Polynices one day broke through this interdict. When the old king perceived this, in his madness he imprecated terrible curses on his sons, which he repeated on another occasion, on which they had sent to him the buttock of the victim from the altar instead of the shoulder. The import of this last act is obscure: but it will be

seen that according to the *Thebais* Polynices suffered from excess of reverent duty towards one whose enfeebled mind mistook what was done. This is in accordance with what else we know of that poem. It was an Argive story, concluding (in the *Epigoni*) with the restoration of Polynices' Argive heir to the throne of his fathers, and would naturally represent Polynices' conduct in a favourable light. The story followed by Aeschylus seems to have been, as the scholiast says, 'similar' but not the same. We must not overlook καὶ in *v.* 773, 'that they likewise might etc.', which implies that there was some analogy between the curse and the cause of it. Now σιδηρονόμος χεῖρ may mean not only 'a hand which divides with iron' but equally well 'a hand which uses iron vessels' for meat and drink; see *Lex. s. v. νέμω*, and cf. χρυσονόμος in *Pers.* 80 (so the MS., and as I think rightly). Probably therefore according to Aeschylus' story Oedipus, as a parricide, was for some ritual reason *not*

5. *The Source of the Aeschylean Story.*

We see then that the play of Aeschylus presents the story of Adrastus' expedition in an extremely ancient form. From what literary source this story was immediately derived we cannot say. Of the epic poems which dealt with the subject scarcely anything is preserved, except fragments<sup>1</sup> of the latest survivor, the Cyclic *Thebais*, just sufficient to show that it was not the oldest form of the legend, and that it was not the main authority of Aeschylus. The *Thebais* and the *Epigoni*, which appear to have been parts of one poem, or at all events harmonious with each other, were written "more in honour of Argos than of Thebes, as the first line betokens—"Ἄργος ἄειδε, θεὰ, πολυδύσιον ἔνθεν ἄνακτες—". A poem written in praise of Argos, yet narrating in its first part the defeat of a great Argive enterprise, declares itself by its very form to be in the nature of an answer. The legend of Aeschylus is not in the least Argive, nor properly speaking Theban either, but Cadmean, and is descended, through what line we do not know, from the primitive epic which the story of the *Thebais* presumes, and of which vague traces remain in the attribution of works on the subject to

served with the golden vessels of his fathers, but with iron instead, and suddenly forgetting the reason prayed somewhat to this effect: ὥς ὑμεῖς τὴν ἐμὴν χεῖρα ἔθετε σιδηρονόμον, οὕτω καὶ ὑμεῖς σιδηρονόμῳ χεὶρ διαλάχοιτε τὰ κτήματα. This being so, it is not clear that the corrupt verse κρείσσω τέκνων δ' ἅπ' ὁμμάτων ἐπλάγχθη referred to the self-blinding of Oedipus at all. This incident did not apparently belong to the epic narrative and cannot now be traced above Sophocles: it is only a conjecture that it was Aeschylus and not Sophocles himself who invented it; and it has nothing to do with the origin of the curse. The attempts to find in κρείσσω τέκνων an epithet suitable for ὁμμάτων have not been successful—κρείσσοτέκνων m, κρείσσοτέχων Donaldson (these words are not correctly formed), κυρσοτέκνων Hermann, φρῖσσοτέκνων Stanley: and as far as the letters go, πωμάτων (constantly written πομάτων) is at least as probable as ὁμμάτων, for it explains the origin of ἅπ'. I incline therefore to read

thus—πατροφόνῳ χεὶρ τῶν χρυσοτέχων πωμάτων ἐπλάγχθη· τέκνοι δ' ἀραιὰς ἐφῆκεν ἐπικότος τροφᾶς, αἰαί, πικρογλώσσους ἄρας, καὶ σφε σιδαρονόμῳ διὰ χεὶρ ποτε λαχεῖν κτήματα: 'because his hand had slain his father (*causal dative*), he was kept from that father's vessels of wrought gold; and angered that he was maintained as one under a curse he let fall upon his children alas! a curse of bitter meaning, that they too σιδαρονόμῳ χεὶρ might divide his wealth.' Note the correspondence of χεὶρ...χερὶ, and observe ἐκπώματα in Athenaeus above quoted. The δίδυμα κακά of v. 767 then means the twofold curse itself. Thus the conduct of the sons would be neither praiseworthy nor blameable, and the whole incident has that character of mere fatality which is the essence of the story in its primitive (and Aeschylean) shape. Of course all this is mere guess-work, but to that we are necessarily reduced.

<sup>1</sup> See the passage of Grote above cited and the authorities there given.

Hesiod. It is probable, not to say certain, that the story of the Cadmea, like the story of Ilium, was extant from early times in many and fluctuating forms, of which the *Thebais* owed its prevalence and longer preservation to its superior literary merit. It must however be considered fortunate that Aeschylus followed older versions, for we thus obtain one true view of a legend at least as ancient as those of Homer and not less curious. In the later dramatists the study of variety and the changes of artistic motive have half obliterated the original lines. The stories of the *Antigone*, of the *Oedipus Tyrannus* and the *Oedipus Coloneus*, of the *Phoenissae* and the *Supplices* of Euripides, are stories of no time that ever was, ancient legends remodelled to suit the particular effect desired by the playwright. The story of Aeschylus may be, and in the outlines probably is, the genuine epic legend of the Cadmean war. And whatever the dramatic excellences of the other versions, this one is not without merits peculiar to itself.

#### 6. The 'Oedipodean Trilogy'.

According to the prefatory note to this play in the Medicean ms.<sup>1</sup>, it was exhibited in the year 467 B.C. as one of four plays—the *Laius*, *Oedipus*, *Seven against Thebes*, and *Sphinx* (satyric play): and Aeschylus was victorious over the other competitors in the tragic contest. From each of the plays not extant a few words or verses are cited by ancient writers<sup>2</sup>. Those from the *Laius* and the *Oedipus* indicate, like the allusions in this play, a general resemblance to the story of Sophocles.

It will be observed that this notice, assuming it to be trustworthy, neither states nor implies that the *Laius*, *Oedipus* and *Seven against Thebes* formed a 'trilogy' in the sense in which that word may be applied to the *Oresteia*, a single dramatic work complete in three parts. The 'didascaliae' or theatrical records, upon which these notices depend, were concerned only with the date and circumstances of the exhibition, and the plays grouped together are often without any internal connexion. This is of some importance, for the extant *Seven against Thebes* is certainly not the conclusion of a work intended to be complete in itself. On the contrary, the last scene is plainly constructed with a view to further development in a play resembling the *Antigone* of Sophocles<sup>3</sup>. But we have no reason to infer from this,

<sup>1</sup> See p. xl.

<sup>2</sup> See Aesch. *fragg.* 119, 120, 171, 233, 234, 235 (Dindorf).

<sup>3</sup> We may even say that the *Chorus* of

such a play is already provided in the *προπομπή* (v. 1061) who accompany *Antigone*. A play entitled *Προπομπή* is mentioned in the list appended to the

that our play is not the original work but a remodelled version of it, which for reasons given in the following section seems in the highest degree improbable.

It is also worth notice that the *titles* by which plays were known in antiquity were not even attributed to the authors themselves. Thus, to go no further than this 'tetralogy', Athenaeus is careful to speak not of '*The Sphinx*', but of 'the play inscribed *The Sphinx*'.<sup>1</sup> If Aeschylus gave our play any title at all (which we have no reason to suppose) it was not, we may venture to say, *The Seven against Thebes*. This title, though not unnatural as a popular designation, combines as much inaccuracy as the space permits. It is erroneous in the name *Thebes*, and misleading in the expression *The Seven*. It would have suited well enough a play laid on the lines indicated by Sophocles in the *Oedipus Coloneus* or by Euripides in the *Suppliants*, and marks, like those plays and the *Phoenissae*, the modification introduced into the story after and as an indirect consequence of the work of Aeschylus.

## 7. *The Text.*

It is a gaining opinion that the *Codex Laurentianus* or *Mediceus*, a MS. of the 10th or 11th century, is the sole independent authority for the text of Aeschylus.<sup>2</sup> It contains the whole of this play. It was collated for Wecklein's edition (Berlin, 1885) by Vitelli, and upon that edition, with occasional references to earlier collations in cases of doubt, the text of this is based. As it is desirable to distinguish as clearly as possible the original readings of the *Mediceus* from all others, those

*Mediceus*, and may perhaps have been the continuation. Nothing seems to remain of it but the word *διπολοι* = *διπλαῖ* (Aesch. frag. 207 Dindorf).

<sup>1</sup> Athenaeus 15 p. 674 D (Aesch. frag. 233 Dindorf) *ἐν τῇ ἐπιγραφομένῃ Σφίγγι*.

<sup>2</sup> The variations from it in the other MSS. are for the most part either changes for the worse—a class which more careful consideration is continually enlarging—or such small corrections of spelling etc. as any one might easily suggest to himself. There are a few, such as *ἐς σκοπᾶν* or *ἐς σκοπιᾶν* for *ἐς ἀκρόπολιν* in v. 226, which have the appearance of an independent origin: and of course the contrary cannot be

proved, even if we take it as certain that M is the archetype of all our MSS.; for a scribe copying directly or indirectly from M *might* introduce genuine readings from tradition or other sources. But even in these cases there is the equally probable alternative that they are conjectures rather more happy or more bold than usual. To this opinion, that of Burges, Cobet, and Dindorf, Wecklein now accedes. In adopting it as a hypothesis we shall at least do no harm; for the *Mediceus*, if not the sole authority, is certainly important enough to deserve a separate consideration.



readings, when they differ from the text here adopted, are given in all cases immediately below. The corrections of the *Mediceus*, whether made in the ms. itself or otherwise, are noticed where necessary in the explanatory notes. Wecklein's notations m and m' designate respectively (1) the first 'corrector' of the *Mediceus* and writer of most of the scholia added to the ms., identified by some with the writer of the ms. itself; (2) two later hands, "one Byzantine, the other of the 14th century", which have made further changes and added other scholia. The variations, that is to say the errors or the conjectures, of the later copies are conveniently designated by Wecklein either as *rec.*, where the variation appears in more than one copy, or as *rec.* when it appears only in one. Where the error of the *Mediceus* is trivial, I have sometimes simply mentioned the original reading without further remark. In these cases it is to be assumed that the correction is made either on the ms. itself or in one of the later copies. A few minute peculiarities have been ignored, particularly if they are only additional instances of an established type, for instance, the omission of the *iota* 'adscript' or the confusion of  $\eta$  and  $\epsilon$  in verbal inflexions. On these points the ms. is too irregular to be of any authority, and its reading in any particular place scarcely affects the critical question. Further the *apparatus criticus* of Wecklein's edition, with the invaluable *Appendix*, is my testimony for the original authorship of particular corrections. To this, the foundation of the subject, I have added nothing; and I would repeat here those acknowledgments to my predecessors and particularly to Dr Wecklein, which I have already expressed in the preface. The numbering of the lines, both in the text and in the references to other plays of Aeschylus, is that of Wecklein, which I shall follow if I should be able, as I hope, to continue this commentary.

My own few corrections are chiefly in the division of the letters into words, and in the accentuation. It is needless to say that these in any Greek ms., if the author dates from the time of uncial writing, are strictly part of the commentary, not of the text. They cannot possibly represent anything of greater authority than the opinion of some ancient editor, and must no more be accepted without consideration than the explanation of a scholium. Whether we should read  $\epsilon\kappa\tau\omicron\varsigma$  or  $\epsilon\kappa\tau\omicron\varsigma$  in v. 251,  $\epsilon\pi'$   $\alpha\nu\delta\rho\alpha\varsigma$  or  $\epsilon\pi\alpha\nu\delta\rho\alpha\varsigma$  in v. 269 are questions not of ms. authority, but of interpretation.

In considering the *scholia*, it is important not to forget the necessity of excessively brief expression, imposed upon the writers of them by mere want of space. The first and often the greatest difficulty of dealing with a scholium, even when correctly copied, is to find out what

it can possibly have meant. We must not therefore be hasty in concluding, because the application of a note is not at once obvious, either that it refers to a different text, or that it is of no value as an exposition of that which we have. Several times it has occurred to me, after arriving with some labour at a particular view, to find it expressed in half a dozen words, which I had perhaps twenty times read and dismissed as unintelligible or irrelevant. See for examples *vv.* 263—265 and *vv.* 406—408. Parts of the scholia descend from those whose material for interpreting Aeschylus exceeded ours at least as much as our critical methods may be supposed to surpass theirs. Of course there are also cases in which the scholium does prove a different reading. Some have been previously pointed out (for example *v.* 759); one or two (as *vv.* 254, 1002) have not, I think, been noticed before.

In connection with the authority of the *ms.* there are two points requiring special mention, both affecting the text of Aeschylus in general, as well as this play in particular.

In the lyrical parts of Aeschylus I believe the text to be in general much less corrupt than is often supposed, and on the whole not much less correct than it is rightly held to be in the dialogue. To a *very* large extent the supposed proof of deep corruption rests on the assumption that in the rhythmic correspondence of *strophe* and *antistrophe* there was always a correspondence of syllables and quantities. This proposition can by no means be assumed *a priori*; it cannot be assumed to be true to the same extent of all poets, or of the same poet writing at different times; it is known not to be absolutely true; the precise limits of it have never been properly investigated: but it has been freely used as a principle of criticism wherever it appears to be easy of application. Very many passages have been altered for no reason but that they contradict the supposed rule; many more have never been seriously interpreted at all, because it is assumed that they cannot be correct. If the rule of *syllabic* correspondence is not to prove itself, the first necessity for a sound conclusion about it is plainly a text in which *no correction, however small, shall be admitted merely on the ground of strophic correspondence*. Verses corresponding in *rhythm* can of course very often be turned without difficulty into verses corresponding syllable by syllable. Whether they were originally such can be decided only by considering the total number of the exceptions, the number of the exceptions not easily corrigible, and, above all, by ascertaining *whether the exceptions could or could not, in general, be detected as errors without reference to the supposed metrical rule*. In many parts of Aeschylus and Euripides, to support the rule in anything like its full

extent, we must suppose that the copyists suddenly developed in the lyrics a new sort of perversity, and incessantly made errors which, while destroying the original exactness of metre, left the sense perfect and the rhythm correspondent. This may be true, but it is not *prima facie* probable. For clearness' sake therefore I have treated strophic correspondence as a matter apart. In the lyrical parts I have in the first instance given and interpreted either the ms. text or such proposed corrections of it as appear probable if the metre be supposed unknown, reserving for an *Appendix* the question what conclusions may be drawn from this text as to the kind of correspondence between *strophe* and *antistrophe* which was used in this play.

The second point, relating to this play more particularly, is the question whether, in the dialogue of Eteocles and the Spy concerning the seven champions (*vv.* 362—663), the answering speeches were originally of exactly equal length, as has been supposed by W. Dindorf (editor of the *Poetae Scenici Graeci*) and some others. This question is of no small importance to the authority of our text of Aeschylus. The lengths of the speeches in the ms. are as follows; Pair i: 22 lines = 20, ii: 15 = 15, iii: 15 = 9, iv: 15 = 20, v: 24 = 13, vi: 29 = 29, vii: 22 = 24. A few of these lines are shown by very strong evidence, external and internal, to have been interpolated *for assignable reasons*, viz. *vv.* 444, 534—536, 566, and 663. Omitting these the numbers will be—i: 22 = 20, ii: 15 = 15, iii: 14 = 9, iv: 15 = 20, v: 21 = 13, vi: 28 = 29, vii: 22 = 23<sup>1</sup>. Either way there is some regularity, yet much irregularity also,—a natural and artistic way of treating a series of speeches thus related. But if it were probable that the third, fourth, and fifth pairs (not to say the first and seventh) were originally exact pairs, but have been reduced to their present form by excisions or additions for which no apparent reason can be assigned, what confidence could be placed in any part of a text so arbitrarily mutilated? In my opinion however there is no reason to think that these speeches ever were equal. The supposed traces of injury in the present text arise from misunderstandings, and disappear upon explanation. The details will be found in the notes.

Still less can we admit the likelihood that this play in its present form is but a remodelling of the original work<sup>2</sup>. Those who have main-

<sup>1</sup> The question is not affected if we include among the interpolations the doubtful case of *v.* 433, and the still more doubtful case of *v.* 588. The second pair will then not be exactly equal, the sixth

pair will be.

<sup>2</sup> References to the various suggestions of this kind which have been made will be found in the *Appendix* to Wecklein's edition already cited.

tained this view can hardly have observed the many striking and harmonious peculiarities by which the play is distinguished from all extant or now traceable works on the subject. It would have required a skill, learning, and patience altogether incredible, to prevent a reconstructor from betraying himself instantly by touches inconsistent with the original and derived from the famous legends of Homer, Pindar, Sophocles, Euripides and others. To mention but one such danger—he would have put in the name of *Thebes*, or he would have been a person such as I believe is not to be found in the whole history of spurious literature.

### 8. General Remarks.

The *Seven against Thebes* was in antiquity one of the most admired and oftenest cited of all tragedies. To its popularity among the contemporaries and immediate successors of the poet, besides the famous reference of Aristophanes<sup>1</sup>, Euripides has left a testimony which far outweighs his objection to a certain part of the plot. In the most brilliant and celebrated of all his own plays, desiring to enhance a retort by a mock-tragic effect, he has made his *Jason* actually quote a verse from the *Seven against Thebes*<sup>2</sup>. In modern times since the revival of learning the play has been much less highly esteemed. In the main I believe that this is due to the misconceptions, small in themselves but not small in their effects, which have been considered in the previous remark. The plot of the first part, for growth of interest up to the climax, has only one superior in ancient literature, the plot of the *Oedipus Tyrannus*. The dialogue which immediately precedes the climax is indispensable to the effect; and if there is something a little artificial in the device by which the necessary time is obtained, this objection is of the reading-room rather than of the theatre. In the theatre, when the Spy and Eteocles meet together upon the stage and the Spy begins his report, an audience would assuredly have little occasion to ask, with Euripides<sup>3</sup>, whether, although the attack is delayed by the interference of Amphiaras, there is quite time enough to tell over the champions one by one instead of all together.

There is however one difficulty which the poet has perhaps not quite surmounted. The first part of the play is one of the most rapid pieces of action ever put upon the stage. The natural duration of the

<sup>1</sup> *Ran.* 1022.

<sup>2</sup> See note on *v.* 61.

<sup>3</sup> *Phoen.* 749.

events represented barely gives time enough for the representation. Every entrance and every exit is made 'in haste', and the whole scene is one of hurry and wild confusion. It cannot be denied, I think, that the magnificent verse of Aeschylean dialogue, of which this play exhibits on the whole the most severe and perfect form, is not altogether the most convenient for a scene of this kind. The iambic verse of Attic tragedy, if it has a defect as a dramatic instrument, is defective on the side of speed. The whole of Euripides' method as an artist might be not ill described as an effort to quicken the pace—in which indeed his success was so great, that on turning from a passage of the *Septem* to a passage of the *Medea* it is difficult to believe that the rules of the metre are exactly the same. Yet Euripides was, not without reason, still dissatisfied, and continued to strain the instrument till he may almost be said to have broken it. Probably Aeschylus himself was scarcely aware of the objection. His stately diction seems to have been so natural to him, that he did not feel it to be incongruous with the utmost rapidity of movement or agitation of feeling. Nor indeed can we desire that it had been otherwise. If Aeschylus could have written lighter verse, he might doubtless well have done so in some parts of the *Seven against Thebes*. We should have obtained a *Phoenissae* with a more solemn and significant plot; and we should have lost such lines as these:—

σιδηρόφρων γὰρ θυμὸς ἀνδρείᾳ φλέγων  
ἔπνει λεόντων ὡς Ἄρη δεδορκότων.

ΛΙΣΧΥΛΟΥ ΕΠΤΑ ΕΠΙ ΘΗΒΑΣ.

## ΥΠΟΘΕΣΙΣ ΤΩΝ ΕΠΤΑ ΕΠΙ ΘΗΒΑΣ.

Ἡ μὲν σκηνὴ τοῦ δράματος ἐν Θήβαις ὑπόκειται, ὁ δὲ χορὸς ἐκ Θηβαίων ἐστὶ παρθένων, ἥ δὲ ὑπόθεσις στρατιὰ Ἀργείων πολιορκοῦσα Θηβαίους, τοὺς καὶ νικήσαντας, καὶ θάνατος Ἑτεοκλέους καὶ Πολυνείκους. ἐδιδάχθη ἐπὶ Θεαγένους Ὀλυμπιάδι σή'. ἐνίκα Λαίψ, Οἰδίποδι, Ἑπτὰ ἐπὶ Θήβας, Σφιγγὶ σατυρικῇ. β' Ἀριστίων Περσεΐ, Ταντάλῳ, Παλαισταῖς σατυρικοῖς τοῖς Πρατίνου πατρός. γ' Πολυφράσμων Λυκουργεία τετραλογία.

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## ΤΑ ΤΟΥ ΔΡΑΜΑΤΟΣ ΠΡΟΣΩΠΑ.

ΕΤΕΟΚΛΗΣ.

ΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ ΚΑΤΑΣΚΟΠΟΣ.

ΧΟΡΟΣ ΠΑΡΘΕΝΩΝ.

ΑΝΤΙΓΟΝΗ.

ΙΣΜΗΝΗ.

ΚΗΡΥΞ.

# ΑΙΣΧΥΛΟΥ ΕΠΤΑ ΕΠΙ ΘΗΒΑΣ.

## ΕΤΕΟΚΛΗΣ.

Κάδμου πολίται, χρῆ λέγειν τὰ καίρια.  
 ὅστις φυλάσσει πρῶτος ἐν πρύμνῃ πόλεως  
 οἶακά νωμόν, βλέφαρα μὴ κοιμῶν ὕπνῳ.  
 εἰ μὲν γὰρ εὖ πράξαιμεν, αἰτία θεοῦ  
 εἰ δ' αὖθ', ὃ μὴ γένοιτο, συμφορὰ τύχοι,

5

1. For the situation see Introduction.  
 χρῆ λέγειν τὰ καίρια. This expression, signifying 'to speak to the point', is a proverbial commonplace, occurring several times in the tragedians; see *inf.* v. 606, Eur. *Iph. A.* 829 καλῶς ἔλεξας ἐν βραχεὶ τὰ καίρια, Soph. *O. C.* 808 χωρὶς τό τ' εἰπεῖν πολλά καὶ τὰ (or τὰ) καίρια, *Ant.* 724 εἰ τι καιρίον λέγει, etc. Used here as a preface it marks that the occasion of the address is urgent, and serves to command attention. On the stop after καίρια see next note.

2—3. In this sentence, the principal clause and the subordinate having the same verb φυλάσσειν, it is omitted in principal clause, and is to be supplied from the other in the form required—φυλάσσειν. (See for ellipses of this kind Kühner, *Greek Grammar*, Vol. II. p. 1079). *Whoso watcheth the fortunes of a state, guiding the tiller at her helm, let him do it with never slumbering eye.* Under the form of this general maxim the speaker implies that he has for his own

part exercised the vigilance which his place demands, as he now calls upon the citizens to do their part; (see the emphatic ὑμᾶς in v. 10). The hour (it appears to be scarcely yet light, *vv.* 29, 66) lends significance to the figure.—This sentence is commonly joined with v. 1, so as to make ὅστις...ὕπνῳ a single clause without ellipse and χρῆ the principal verb. To this there are two fatal objections: (1) the case of κοιμῶν; for which Heimsoeth reads κοιμῶνθ' (κοιμῶντα), perceiving that from the sense of βλέφαρα...ὕπνῳ these words must describe the *duty* of a ruler, not a quality of a ruler as such; and (2) the want of connexion between χρῆ λέγειν τὰ καίρια and the following figure; λέγειν τὰ καίρια is the business of every one, not of a statesman in particular, still less of a sleepless pilot.—Here and throughout this speech we may note the alliteration, especially on the letters π and φ. So free a use of it is very rare in Greek verse.



Ἔτεοκλῆς ἂν εἰς πολὺς κατὰ πτόλιν  
 ὑμνοῖθ' ὑπ' ἀστῶν φροίμοις πολυρρόθοις  
 οἰμώγμασιν θ', ὦν Ζεὺς ἀλεξητήριος  
 ἐπώνυμος γένοιτο Καδμείων πόλει.  
 ὑμᾶς δὲ χρή νῦν, καὶ τὸν ἐλλείποντ' ἔτι  
 ἦβης ἀκμαίας, καὶ τὸν ἔξηβον χρόνῳ  
 βλαστήμον ἀλδαίνοντα σώματος πολύν,  
 ὦραν ἔχων θ' ἕκαστος ὥς τις συμπρεπής,  
 πόλει τ' ἀρήγειν καὶ θεῶν ἐγχαυρίων

10

6. ἔτεοκλῆς—πολὺς above the line.  
 to ὥστι—συμπρεπές.

13. ὦραν\*—ἐχωνθ' corr. to ἐχονθ'—ὥστις

6. Then would 'Eteocles' be the one cry repeated and multiplied by the townsfolk up and down with stormy threatenings. Ἔτεοκλῆς here is rather the name than the man; πολὺς is predicative and joined in sense with ὑμνοῖτο. φροίμοις, literally *preludes*, the murmurs fore-running the outbreak of actual violence.

8. ὦν...πόλει: from which may Zeus Defender for his name's sake defend the Cadmean town: ὦν is governed by ἐπώνυμος, or more properly speaking by ἀλεξητήριος implied in ἐπώνυμος, 'like his name', 'that which his name implies'. (Paley).

11. ἔξηβον χρόνῳ together, that hath aged beyond vigour. CΣ. B. μ. E. I.

12. βλαστήμον (sic) M, and also in *Supp.* 317, the other example of the word, but of course wrongly. If the word were a substantive in -μος, it would be oxytone, βλαστημόν. But it is very doubtful whether there was any such word, for as Hermann pointed out the form would rather be βλαστημός (cf. πατημός, ὄρχησμός), which he would accordingly read. In *Supp.* l. c. βλαστημόν has been suggested. Here, apart from the form, βλαστημός or βλαστημός σώματος has difficulties of sense, and there is much more probability in Hermann's alternative suggestion, that the true accentuation is βλαστήμον, i.e. βλαστήμονα from the adjective βλαστήμων. But in that case πολύν is erroneous and

must have replaced a substantive. This suspicion is strengthened by the fact that the line does not intelligibly describe any mark of age, which is nevertheless clearly the intention. Thus for example σποράν, though not defensible as a restoration, would give excellent sense, taking ἐξήβον χρόνῳ as a predicate agreeing with βλαστήμονα σποράν—him whose age hath outgrown the bearing of the body's procreative seed. Probably the true word is lost beyond recovery.

13. i.e. τὸν τε ὦραν ἔχοντα, ὡς ἕκαστός τις, ὦραν ἔχων, συμπρεπής ἐστί: and those of vigorous age, according as the vigour of each fits him. ὁ ὦραν ἔχων is ὁ ἐν ἡλικίᾳ, the military age between the two before mentioned. All such are in different degrees fit for fighting, and each is to use his capacity to the utmost. ὦραν ἔχων τε (not ὦραν τ' ἔχων), because ὦραν ἔχων is in grammar a qualifying clause to συμπρεπής ἐστί, the accusative to which the τε belongs being supplied from it by a common ellipse.—The copula was accidentally written twice, in the usual place and in that here required. Otherwise the MS. as it stood before alteration is correct. The readings ὦραν ἔχονθ' ἕκαστον and ὦραν (sic) ἔχονθ' ἕκαστον, explained in the Scholia, appear to be mistaken corrections. C. Δ. τε.

14—16. ἀρήγειν πόλει καὶ βωμοῖς, ὥστε τιμὰς τῶν βωμῶν μὴ ἐξαλ. τέκνοις

βωμοῖσι, τιμὰς μὴ ἔαλειφθῆναι ποτε  
τέκνοις τε γῇ τε μητρὶ, φιλτάτῃ τροφῇ  
ἢ γὰρ νέους ἔρποντας εὐμενεὶ πέδῳ,  
ἅπαντα πανδοκοῦσα παιδείας ὄτλον,  
ἐθρέψατ' οἰκιστῆρας ἀσπιδηφόρους  
πιστοῦς, ὅπως γένοισθε πρὸς χρέος τόδε.

15

20

τε γῇ τε μητρὶ. *That so the due rites of the children and their mother-land may never be done away.* τέκνοις and γῇ are datives of "interest" constructed with ἐξαλειφθῆναι, the τιμαὶ being paid by and for the γῇ as well as the inhabitants; see Soph. *O. C.* 1007 γῇ θεοῦς ἐπίσταται τιμαῖς σεβίζειν. By τέκνα we may understand either τέκνα πόλεως (cf. Eur. *H. F.* 7 οὐ Κἀδμου πόλιν τεκνοῦσι παῖδων παῖσι), or indifferently τέκνα γῆς, the word being used by anticipation as correlative to μήτηρ: in either case it stands for *children of Thebes, Thebans*: see the following lines.—It seems simpler at first sight to construct τέκνοις and μητρὶ with ἀρῆγειν, taking τέκνοις for τέκνοις ὑμῶν: but it will be seen that 'children' in this sense is irrelevant and injurious to the meaning. The subject is solely the duty of a citizen to the state. If the 'children' be specified, why not the wives, the mothers, etc.? M. Schmidt, who suggests τοκεῦσι, supposing something to be lost between 15 and 16, has perceived this difficulty. The text however is not incorrect, though it might be more clear if for τέκνοις τε were read τέκνοισι.

17. ἔρποντας suggests perhaps two ideas: (1) the *growing* of plants, cf. Soph. *frag.* 239 βότρυς ἐπ' ἡμᾶρ ἔρπει, *id. Trach.* 547 where πρόσω ἔρπει is the antithesis to φθίνειν, and the Latin 'illic veniunt felicius uvae'; the earth is said to *nourish the young growths on kindly soil*, cf. εὐμενῇ γῇ Eur. *Phoen.* 938; and (2) by a reminiscence of ἐρπύζω etc., the *crawling* of infants: κυρτὸς ἐπὶ παῖδων τὸ ἔρποντας Schol. It is doubtful however whether the second can have been per-

ceived, for among the very numerous examples of the word in Attic poetry, this is the only one which shows any trace of the meaning "creep", while those which exclude it are many.—πιδῶ instrumental, constructed both with ἔρποντας and ἐθρέψατο. The comparison of the children to plants has an important bearing on v. 20.

18. πανδοκοῦσα, properly "to act as a hostess": the verb is intransitive, and ὄτλον is the inner or quasi-cognate, not the direct accusative. (Thus the gloss ἐπιδεχομένη is incorrect.) πανδοκεῖν ὄτλον is *to do a troublesome thing* (or *take trouble*) as a host does it, i.e. with the cheerfulness of those who expect to be repaid for their patience. The metaphor, though homely, is vividly expressive, and emphasizes the very point to be made, that such service must be paid for when the time comes.—ἅπανθ' ὑπανδοκοῦσα Hartung.

19. οἰκιστῆρας *founders*, here of *houses*, as commonly of cities. Every man arriving at the age of independence becomes in a sense an οἰκιστῆρ. οἰκητῆρας *recc.* ἀσπιδηφόρους expresses the military, as οἰκιστῆρας the civil side of manhood; so the young Athenian on proving his citizenship received a shield and lance. Both words are proleptic, expressing the intention and effect of ἐθρέψατο.

20. πιστοῦς strongly emphasized by position, *whom she trusted or because trusted*: for this sense cf. Antiph. 703. 3, πολλοὶ τῶν λέγειν δυναμένων πιστοὶ γενόμενοι τῷ ψεύδεσθαι. ὅπως κ.τ.λ., literally *in order that ye might be formed* (or *produced*) *against* (with a view to) *this*

καὶ νῦν μὲν ἐς τὸδ' ἡμαρ εὖ ῥέπει θεός·  
 χρόνον γὰρ ἤδη τόνδε πυργηρουμένοις  
 καλῶς τὰ πλείω πόλεμος ἐκθέων κυρεῖ.  
 νῦν δ' ὡς ὁ μάντις φησὶν, οἰωνῶν βοτήρ,  
 ἐν ὧσ' νωμῶν καὶ φρεσὶν πυρὸς δίχα  
 χρηστηρίους ὄρνιθας ἀψευδεῖ τέχνη,—  
 οὗτος τοιῶνδε δεσπότης μαντευμάτων  
 λέγει μεγίστην προσβολὴν Ἀχαιίδα  
 νυκτηγορεῖσθαι κάπιβούλευσιν πόλει.

25

23. ἐκ θεῶν. 25. φρεσὶ. 27. τοιῶνδε corr. to τοιῶνδε. 29. κάπιβουλεύσειν.

occasion. The difficulty found here seems to arise from not observing (1) the exact sense of πιστοί, and (2) the relation of γένοιτο to the dominant metaphor of children-plants. The verb is complete in itself and requires no further predicate. The land took the pains of their rearing, in order that she might have the product. It is therefore not necessary either to emend, or to adopt the loose notion of the Scholia, that πιστοὺς ὅπως γένοισθε stands for ὅπως γένοισθε πιστοί.

21. καὶ νῦν marks the return from the general reflexions on the duty of patriotism to the present siege. Observe that in 24 νῦν has a slightly different sense, viz. the situation of the siege at this moment. μὲν does not answer to δὲ in 24 (which would require ἐς τὸδε μὲν ἡμαρ) but remains without antithesis, having nearly the force of μὲν οὖν, and as to this present. From these two peculiarities the paragraph does not balance neatly.

21. εὖ ῥέπει inclines in the scale to good. θεός, equivalent to τύχη, fortune. The personal sense of the word is wholly lost, as the phrase εὖ ῥέπει shows.

23. ἐκ θεῶν—apparently a false accentuation for ἐκθέων; our war in sallies has been for the most part successful. ἐκθεῖν is the proper term for sallies of the beleaguered. ἐκ θεῶν does not suit the character of the speaker. Contrast v. 4 and see the Introduction.

25. πυρὸς δίχα, without fire, i.e. not by the common method of ἐμπυρα or

inspection of parts of the victims offered in sacrifice. The words qualify χρηστηρίους rather than νωμῶν—omens revealed not by the way of fire. The birds were of all kinds, Greek and foreign (hence βοτήρ in 24), and protected by the blind prophet Teiresias for the purpose of a peculiar divination (τέχνη ἡ ἐμὴ Soph. Ant. 998) which he drew by the ear, from their cries and the sound of their flight (ἐξ ἀκοῆς τὰς πτήσεις διέκρινεν Schol.). See the picturesque description in Sophocles. Many of them would probably not have been suitable as victims. The special gift was plainly invented to account for the practice of μαντική by a blind man: Sophocles, however, adds a supplementary consultation of ἐμπυρα through the report of a servant. Eteocles here implies (v. 27) that the singular mystery of the art is a guarantee of truth. ὄρνιθας, bird-omens; see Lex. s.v. The extended sense of the word makes the expression νωμῶν ὄρνιθας possible—controlling, i.e. dealing with them as a master.—πυρὸς δίχα is variously criticised and emended, but on the assumption that it is to be joined with νωμῶν. φάους δίχα Ritschl.

28. προσβολὴν κάπιβούλευσιν πόλει. The dative is governed by the compounded prepositions. κάπιβούλευσιν Dindorf. Neither ἐπιβουλεύσειν nor ἐπιβουλεύειν suits the sense, which would require ἐπιβουλεύεσθαι (passive).

gamm. 4.37.

near render  
 γεοθεν

ἀλλ' ἔς τ' ἐπάλξεις καὶ πύλας πυργωμάτων 30  
 ὀρμᾶσθε πάντες, σοῦσθε σὺν παντευχίᾳ,  
 πληροῦτε θωρακεία, κάπῃ σέλμασιν  
 πύργων στάθητε, καὶ πυλῶν ἐπ' ἐξόδοις  
 μίμνοντες εὖ θαρσεῖτε, μῆδ' ἐπηλύδων 35  
 ταρβεῖτ' ἄγαν ὄμιλον. εὖ τελεῖ θεός.  
 σκοποὺς δὲ καὶ κατοπτήρας στρατοῦ  
 ἔπεμψα, τοὺς πέποιθα μὴ ματᾶν ὀδῶ  
 καὶ τῶνδ' ἀκούσας οὐ τι μὴ ληφθῶ δόλφ.

## ΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ ΚΑΤΑΣΚΟΠΟΣ.

Ἐτεόκλεες, φέριστε Καδμείων ἀναξ,  
 ἦκω σαφῇ τὰ κεῖθεν ἐκ στρατοῦ φέρων, 40  
 αὐτὸς κατόπτῃς δ' εἰμ' ἐγὼ τῶνπραγμάτων.  
 ἄνδρες γὰρ ἐπτά, θούριοι λοχαγέται,

30. πυργωμάτων.

34. εὐθαρσεῖτε.

36. κατοπτήρα.

30. πυργωμάτων, *the (towered) walls* as a whole; the gen. depends on both substantives.

32. σέλμασιν. τοῖς ἐπιβήμασι' κατεχρήσατο δέ, Schol. Properly the cross-benches of ships; here by κατάχρησις, or borrowed application, the wooden platforms resembling them, fixed in the towers.

36. κατοπτήρας μ'.

37. ματᾶν. The sense of this verb seems to be most nearly expressed by combining our colloquial terms *bungle* and *shirk*. The root-meaning is *to be ineffective*, and hence *to work ineffectively*. In *Il.* 16. 474 Automedon cuts loose his fallen horse 'without bungling', οὐδὲ μάτην; *ib.* 5. 233 Pandarus fears that horses driven by a strange hand may 'shirk'; *ib.* 23. 510 the victorious charioteer goes instantly to receive his prize (οὐδὲ μάτην) 'without bungling over it'. The three Aeschylean examples (cf. *P. V.* 57, *Eum.* 142), agree in the sense of *ineffective work*. I can find no corresponding English word of tragic dignity; but we may translate by *do their errand well*. ὀδῶ, instrumental by the going, supplies here as generally the

want of a verbal noun from *λέναι*. Compare the compounds μέθοδος, κάθοδος etc. with the corresponding verbs. The tense of ματᾶν is doubtful. The form may be either present or future (formed like ἐλᾶν after the manner of verbs with present in -αῖω), and may have been used in both ways (like ἐλᾶν γαμῖν etc.). *P. V.* 57 points to a present, but *Eum.* 142 decidedly to a future. Here either is admissible, the future perhaps better. Schol. μὴ μάτην ὀρμήσαι, correctly as to the meaning but the tense is remarkable; perhaps ὀρμήσειν?—Hesychius interprets ματᾶ by χρονίζει, διατρίβει, meaning probably *hesitate* (cf. *Il.* 23, 510).

38. οὐ τι μὴ: negative future, as οὐ μὴ, but always with a certain contempt and defiance. Strictly perhaps τι is an ironical qualification, but this depends on the true analysis of οὐ μὴ with subj., at present a doubtful problem.

41. Note the position of the conjunction, justified by the fact that αὐτὸς κατόπτῃς form one idea.

42. γὰρ marks the commencement of a promised narration. There is no English equivalent.

Cicero. 8.

ταυροσφαγούντες ἐς μελάνδετον σάκος  
 καὶ θιγγάνοντες χερσὶ ταυρείου φόνου,  
 Ἄρη τ' Ἐννώ καὶ φιλαίματον Φόβον 45  
 ὥρκωμότησαν ἣ πόλει κατασκαφὰς  
 θέντες λαπάξειν ἄστν Καδμείων βίᾳ,  
 ἣ γῆν θανόντες τήνδε φυράσειν φόνῳ  
 μνημεῖά θ' αὐτῶν τοῖς τεκοῦσιν εἰς δόμους  
 πρὸς ἄρμ' Ἀδράστου χερσὶν ἔστεφον, δάκρυ 50

49. αὐτῶν.

43. οὕτως θύοντες ἐπάνω τῶν ἀσπίδων ἐμαντεύοντο, Schol. Perhaps an omen was derived from the manner in which the blood spurted (Paley, citing a similar μάντευμα in Eur. *Hcl.* 1587), but the chief purpose here was clearly the symbolism of the bloodshed to which they devoted themselves (see *v.* 48).—**μελάνδετον**: τὸ μελανισθὲν τῷ αἵματι· ἣ τὸ ἐκ μελαινῶν βυσσῶν περιβεβλημένον. Schol. The first explanation, *empurpled* or *crimsoned* (by the blood), is correct. In interpreting ancient words in Attic tragedy we must carefully distinguish three questions, (1) the meaning to the tragedian, (2) the *true* meaning in older literature, (3) the etymology:—(1) the meaning *crimsoned* is *required*, and the reference to the verb *δεῖν* is *excluded*, in Eur. *Orest.* 821 μελάνδετον φόνῳ ξίφος. In Eur. *Phoen.* 1098 and *fr.* 374 it describes a sword in use, so that this meaning is, as here, highly appropriate, and *black-bound* scarcely intelligible. These facts are decisive as to the view of the Attic poets, and there are Epic uses by which they might plausibly have supported it, as *Il.* 15. 713 πολλὰ δὲ φάσγανα καλὰ μελάνδετα κωπήεντα | ἄλλα μὲν ἐκ χειρῶν χάμαδις πέσον, ἄλλα δ' ἀπ' ὤμων | ἀνδρῶν μαρναμένων· ῥέε δ' αἵματι γαῖα μέλαινα, where the last words strongly suggest it. But (2) from the position of the epithet it probably did not mean this to the Epic poet, but referred, as is now supposed, to the make or material of the sword, though there is nothing to prove a

derivation from *δεῖν* or to disprove the interpretation *μελανισθὲν*. And (3) etymologically, it may not be from *δεῖν* at all (what meaning *μελαν-δετος* could have is obscure), but is perhaps only an irregularly formed passive verbal in *-ετος* (cf. the termination of *ἀπεύχετος*, *ἀλάμπετος*) and corresponding to the verb *μελαίνω* (*μελαν-γω*), in which the development of a phonetic *δ* has been assisted by metrical convenience. With this however we are not concerned.—For the colour *μέλας* see the *Lex. s.v.*, Aesch. *Ag.* 1510 etc.

45. If Ἄρης and Ἐννώ (*feminine*) are to be distinguished, the omission of the second *τε* is highly remarkable. Perhaps however we have here the name of a masculine deity Ἄρης Ἐννώς (the Homeric Ἄρης Ἐννόλιος) making with Ἐννώ a pair like Φοῖβος and Φοίβη, etc.—Ἄρην, Ἐννώ Turnebus.

47. **θέντες**: *causing*, cf. *v.* 175. **Καδμείων** a good example of the pregnant force in Greek syntax. The genitive affects equally λαπάξειν (*to empty*), ἄστν, and βίᾳ being successively privative, possessive, and objective, 'to depopulate the Cadmean town in despite of her defenders.'

48. **τήνδε**. Perhaps τῇδε *thus*, with reference to the symbolical φόνος upon their hands. πρόσθε φυράσειν (the reading as cited by Stobaeus, *Fl.* 7, 11) looks like an arbitrary correction of the superfluous τήνδε.

50. The memorials are hung on the

λείβοντες, οἶκτος δ' οὔτις ἦν διὰ στόμα.  
 σιδηρόφρων γὰρ θυμὸς ἀνδρεία φλέγων  
 ἔπνει, λεόντων ὡς Ἀρη δεδορκότων.  
 καὶ τῶνδε πύστις οὐκ ὀκνῶ χρονίζεται,  
 κληρουμένους δ' ἔλειπον, ὡς πάλῳ λαχῶν 55  
 ἕκαστος αὐτῶν πρὸς πύλας ἄγοι λόχον.  
 πρὸς ταῦτ' ἀρίστους ἄνδρας ἐκκρίτους πόλεως  
 πυλῶν ἐπ' ἐξόδοισι τάγευσαι τάχος·  
 ἐγγὺς γὰρ ἦδη πάνοπλος Ἀργείων στρατὸς  
 χωρεῖ, κούλει, πεδία δ' ἀργηστής ἀφρὸς 60

*chariot of Adrastus, the chief of the enterprise, both from its sacred dignity and for the practical reason, that if possible it would be saved from the enemy in case of disaster. The act however is undesignedly ominous, Adrastus alone being destined to escape. A scholiast rather simply asks how the chieftains would know this; another gives the not less simple reply that Amphiaras divined and revealed the event. μνημεῖα: περόνας ἢ τριχὰς ἢ τι τὸ τοιοῦτον, Schol.*

54. *Lit. and the enquiry concerning these things is not being delayed by coward hesitation, but, when I left, they were casting lots etc., i.e. they are eager, like the brave Hyperbius in v. 493, 'to put to fate the question of their destiny' (see note there). τῶνδε: the uncertain alternative of death or victory to which they are sworn. Two explanations divide the scholia and later commentaries: (1) your learning this news has not been delayed by slackness of mine, (2) your learning (or reading πίστις, the proof) of the truth of this report is not delayed by hesitation on their part, i.e. 'you will soon have the evidence of deeds.' But (1) does not satisfy the meaning of ὀκνῶς (which is not mere delay, but cowardly hesitation or flinching), nor the tense of χρονίζεται, which interrupting the imperfects ἔστεφον, ἔπνει, ἔλειπον should be a true, not a historic, present: and (2) forces the meaning of πύστις, or else assumes that*

the rare word πύστις has replaced the common πίστις, and in either case supposes gratuitous suspicion in Eteocles. Moreover οἱ πεισόμενοι should be those whose action is being described, not Eteocles, who has not been mentioned since v. 39.—In Stobaeus *l.c.* (see Hermann) there are traces of a quite different reading, probably due merely to loose recollection, καὶ τῷδε πίστις οὐ μόνῳ χαρίζεται, and *their confidence indulges them further than this, for etc.*

55. ὡς-λαχῶν ἕκαστος ἄγοι: *how allotted, i.e. according to what distribution of gates, each was to lead, etc.; a dependent question answering to the direct πῶς-λαχῶν ἄγω (deliberative subj.). Cf. v. 362 λέγοιμ' ἂν ὡς ἕκαστος ἐληχεν πάλον. Better so constructed, than as a final sentence, which does not properly express the relation between the actions.*

58. τάχος: *with speed*, 'inner' accusative describing the action of the verb τάγευσαι. The difference between τάγευσον and τάγευσαι may be expressed by the use of the 'ethic' pronoun, *marshal thee.*

59—64. Observe that in these brilliant lines every touch tells on the metaphor from storm, rising clouds, blots of wind-driven foam, etc.

60. ἀργηστής, akin to, if it be not indeed identical with, ἀργεστής the 'white' wind, occurs in Aesch. here and

χραίνει σταλαγμοῖς ἵππικῶν ἐκ πλευμόνων.  
 σὺ δ' ὥστε ναὸς κενὸς οἰακοστρόφος  
 φράξαι πόλισμα, πρὶν καταιγίσαι πνοὰς  
 Ἄρεως· βοᾷ γὰρ κῦμα χερσαῖον στρατοῦ.  
 καὶ τῶνδε καιρὸν ὅστις ὤκιστος λαβέ  
 κἀγὼ τὰ λαιπὰ πιστὸν ἡμεροσκόπον  
 ὀφθαλμὸν ἔξω, καὶ σαφηνεῖα λόγου  
 εἰδὼς τὰ τῶν θύραθεν ἀβλαβῆς ἔση.

65

ET. ὦ Ζεῦ τε καὶ Γῇ, καὶ πολιτισσοῦχοι θεοί,  
 Ἄρά τ' Ἑρινὺς πατὴρ ἡ μεγασθενής,  
 μὴ μοι πόλιν γε πρυμνόθεν πανώλεθρον  
 ἐκθαμνίσῃτε δηάλωτον, Ἑλλάδος  
 φθόγγον χέουσαν, καὶ δόμους ἐφεστίους  
 ἐλευθέραν δὲ γῆν τε καὶ Κάδμου πόλιν

70

in *Eup.* 180, πτηνὸν ἀργηστὴν ὄφιν, in both places of things in rapid motion. The whiteness signified seems to be that of wind-driven cloud or foam.

62. 'Quoted' for mock-tragic effect by Jason in *Eur. Med.* 523.

64. στρατοῦ genitive defining; 'a land-wave in form of an army'. The epithet χερσαῖον qualifies the metaphor as in *ἀρδίς ἄπυρος* of the gadfly's sting, *P. V.* 905 (Paley) ἀκραγεῖς κύνας (eagles) *ib.* 829, (Davies).

66. ἡμεροσκόπον: the previous reconnoitre having been made almost before light. See on *v.* 2.

71. πόλιν γε. Note the emphasis thrown by the particle upon πόλιν. 'Whatever else ye may inflict, destroy not a Hellenic πόλις with all the local worship depending on it.' Such an extinction was a shock to religious feeling, at least as developed in the time of Aeschylus and extended to the whole of Hellas. πρυμνόθεν—πρέμνοθεν Valckenaer, from the Attic πρέμνον, followed by many editors since. But it seems impossible to disprove, as against the ms. of Aeschylus, his possible use of the Epic form. See *Lex. s. v.* πρυμνόθεν.

74. *i.e.* ἐλευθέραν δὲ (εὐχομαι εἶναι)

γῆν καὶ πόλιν Κάδμου θυγατρὶς μὴ σχεθεῖν, where εἶναι is the infinitive of prayer, θυγατρὶς depends as dative of relation on ἐλευθέραν εἶναι, and σχεθεῖν is consecutive; grant that the land and city of Cadmus may be free in respect of slavish yokes so that they never hold it, to render the ms. literally according to such syntax as it has. The explanation that θυγατρὶς depends upon ὅτε supplied' is surely illusory. The word which is loosely said to be 'supplied' with the *infinitivus precantis* cannot play a part in the syntax. What if it were not ὅτε but εὐχομαι?—The want of a principal verb, the redundancy of γῆν, and the false order of γῆν τε καὶ Κ. π. all point to a fault in *v.* 74. Perhaps ἐλευθέραν δ' ἀνῆτε καὶ Κ. πόλιν, where καὶ would be not *and* but *also*, *i.e.* among other Hellenic cities, each and all being important to the worship of the gods;—and let not the free town of Cadmus be yielded any more than another to the possession of a slavish yoke. This would give in English the force of the καὶ, though the form is comparatively cumbersome. The idiomatic uses of καὶ in classical Greek have caused not a few ms. errors.—μήποτ' ἴσχετε, Pauw.

ζυγοῖσι δουλίοισι μήποτε σχεθεῖν.  
 γένεσθε δ' ἀλκή· ξυνὰ δ' ἐλπίζω λέγειν  
 πόλις γὰρ εὖ πράσσουσα δαίμονας τίει.

75

## ΧΟΡΟΣ ΠΑΡΘΕΝΩΝ.

θρέομαι φοβερὰ μεγάλη' ἄχη.  
 μεθεῖται στρατὸς στρατόπεδον λιπών.  
 ῥεῖ πολὺς ὕδρ' ἐλπίξω πρόδρομος ἱππότης.  
 αἰθερία κόνις με πείθει φανεῖσ'  
 ἄναυδος σαφὴς ἔτυμος ἄγγελος.  
 ἔλεδέμασ πεδιοπλοκτύπος†  
 τί χρίμπτεται βοᾷ. ποτᾶται, βρέμει δ'  
 ἀμαχέτου δίκαν ὕδατος ὀροτύπου.  
 ἰὼ ἰὼ ἰὼ θεοὶ  
 θεαί τ' ὀρόμενον κακὸν ἀλεύσατε.  
 βοᾷ ὑπὲρ τειχέων

80

85

75. δουλίοισι—σχέθειν.

87. ἀλεύσετε.

75. δουλίοισι Aldus.

76. *ἔλπίζω* trust, believe, in which sense it is correctly followed by the present infinitive. Cf. Plato *Rep.* 451 A. 573 C. Rutherford on Babrius 9. 2. *ξυνὰ λέγειν*, plead a common interest.

77. *τία* rewards, the primary meaning of all words from this root.—Here Eteocles hastily leaves with his attendants to make arrangements for the defence of the gates (see v. 57). The stage being clear, enter (in the orchestra) the Chorus of Maidens, flying to the sanctuary of the Acropolis in wild alarm at the approach of the enemy. On the metrical distribution of the entrance-song (*παρόδος*) see *Appendix*.

79. *μεθεῖται...ῥεῖ*. The metaphor is from water, as a torrent or lake, 'loosed' from a confining barrier.

81. *αἰθερία φανεῖσα* together.—On *ἔτυμος ἄγγελος* see the second *Appendix*.

83. *καὶ τὰ τῆς γῆς δέ μου πεδία κατακτυπούμενα τοῖς ποσὶ τῶν ἱππῶν [καὶ τῶν ὄπλων] ποιεῖ μου προσπελάζειν τὸν ἦχον τοῖς ὤσιν*, Schol. Whence Wecklein, combining suggestions from *recc.* Enger,

Seidler and F. W. Ritschl, reconstructs thus—*ἰδὲ δὲ γὰρ ἐμὰς πεδί' ὀπλόκτυπ' ὥτι χρίμπτει βοᾷ. ποτᾶται, sc. ἡ βοή*, apparently expresses, by a bold metaphor, both the swift advance and also the hovering rise and fall of the sound made by approaching numbers; the roar of a waterfall at a distance is similarly intermittent (see v. 85).

87. *ὀρόμενον*. Note the aorist, lit. *which has started* on its course.

88—90. The context here shows that *πόλις* is used, as frequently in this scene, in the familiar Athenian sense of *ἀκρόπολις*, the citadel, which the scene represents. (See also v. 125 and v. 207 compared with v. 227.) In the excited imagination of the speakers the enemy is already carrying the outer wall and pursuing to the citadel. The pursued are defenders of the wall or the speakers themselves, one or both.—The omission of the object to *διώκων* scarcely raises a difficulty, but it is a little curious that the besieged should not be mentioned, and the *hiatus* in *βοᾷ-ὑπὲρ* is very dubious in Aeschylus. This points rather to the



ὁ λεύκασπις ὄρνυται λαὸς εὐ-  
 τρεπῆς ἐπὶ πτόλιν διώκων.  
 τίς ἄρα ῥύσεται, τίς ἄρ' ἐπαρκέσει  
 θεῶν ἢ θεᾶν;  
 πότερα δῆτ' ἐγὼ πάτρια ποτιπέσω βρέτη δαιμόνων;  
 ἰὼ μάκαρες εὐεδροι,  
 ἀκμάζει βρετέων ἔχεσθαι τί μέλ-  
 λομεν ἀγάστονοι;  
 ἀκούετ' ἢ οὐκ ἀκούετ' ἀσπίδων κτύπον;  
 πέπλων καὶ στεφάνων πότ' εἰ μὴ νῦν ἀμ-  
 φι λίταν' ἔξομεν;  
 κτύπον δέδορκα· πάταγος οὐ κενὸς δορός.  
 τί ῥέξεις; προδώσεις,  
 παλαίχθων Ἄρης, τὰν τεάν;  
 ὦ χρυσοπήληξ δαῖμον,

90

95

100

93. ἐγὼ ποτιπέσω.

98. στεφάνων corr. to στεφάνων—ἀμφίλιταν.

100. οὐχ ἑνός.

reading βοᾶν ὑπὲρ τειχέων, i.e. τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν τειχέων βοήθειαν *the defenders of the wall*: for βοή=βοήθεια, and for the abstract βοήθεια in the concrete sense of βοηθοί, see *Lex. s. vv.* Of course ὑπὲρ τειχέων would still supply the explanation to ὄρνυται also.—Λεύκασπις, mark of the Argives. *Soph. Ant.* 114. *Eur. Phoen.* 1099. (Paley.)

93. πάτρια restored by Volckmann from the Schol. πότερον πρόσφυγες τῶν πατρίων ξοάνων γενόμεθα (γενώμεθα) ἢ ἄλλο τι πράξομεν; Note however that πότερα is *not* for πότερον but signifies *which rather?*

98. ἀμφι λίταν' ἔξομεν, Seidler. This seems right, but it cannot mean 'be engaged in prayer'. The preposition belongs to the verb (*imesis*), ἀμπίσχειν being used as in *Eur. Supp.* 165 γόνυ σὸν ἀμπίσχειν χερὶ for the act of grasping the symbol of supplication. The λίτανα πέπλων καὶ στεφάνων are the votive robes and wreaths with which the images and the surrounding βωμοί etc. are decorated: ἐνέδουν γὰρ καὶ πέπλους τὰ ἀγάλματα, Schol. Cf. *Eum.* 39 and 55. The

object of grasping them is to place the suppliant in actual contact with the gods and so in their protection. The fugitives on this occasion naturally bring no offerings. The genitives define λίτανα, an adjective used as substantive without article, as often in poetry and particularly by Aeschylus.

100. *I see that clang; that clashing is not weaponless, i.e. 'it is the clash of arms, and no other sound'.* The κτύπος and πάταγος are the imagined sounds of the enemy, clashing their arms as they come on. A 'sound' which is 'seen' is already clothed in figure, and may without impropriety be 'armed'. To 'see' a sound is a terse expression for 'to picture' the thing suggested by it; there is no reason to suppose that δέδορκα could mean 'I hear'. For the phrase κενὸς δορός cf. *Rhes.* 792. The author of the *Rhesus* has borrowed elsewhere from this play; see on *v.* 373.—The ms. appears to me impossible; *not one* is no synonym for *many*.

102. τὰν τεάν (γῶν), a common ellipse. γῶν τεάν *recc.*

ἔπιδ' ἐπιδε πόλιν,  
 ἄν ποτ' εὐφιλήταν ἔθου. 105  
 θεοὶ πολιάσχοι χθονός, ἔθ' ἵτε πάντες, στρ.  
 ἴδετε παρθένων  
 ἰκέσιον λόχον δουλοσύνας ὕπερ.  
 κύμα γὰρ περὶ πτόλιν δοχμολόφων ἀνδρῶν  
 καχλάζει πνοαῖς Ἄρεος ὀρόμενον. 110  
 ἀλλ' ὦ Ζεῦ πάτερ παντελής, πάντως  
 ἄρηξον दातῶν ἄλωσιν.  
 Ἄργεῖοι δὲ πόλισμα Κάδμου  
 κυκλοῦνται, φόβος δ' ἀρητῶν ὕπλων,  
 διαδέτοι† γενῶν ἱππείων 115  
 κινύρονται φόνον χαλινοί.  
 ἐπτὰ δ' ἀγήνορες πρέποντες στρατοῦ  
 δορυσσόις σαγαῖς πύλαις ἐβδόμαις

103. δαίμων. δαῖμον m. 106. χθονός \* (four or five letters erased) ἔθ' ἵτε.  
 113. γάρ m. 118. σαγαῖς written by m, the first five letters having been erased.

105. See on v. 125.

106. ἔθι, not *grammatically* inadmissible, the word having become a mere formula of invocation; cf. Aristoph. *Ran.* 1378 ἔθι νυν παρίστασθον.—ἔθ' ἀθρόοι (*πάντες* gloss) Steusloff.

109. δοχμολόφων. The dashing of the crests from side to side, as the enemy seek a point to scale, is finely compared to the waves of a broken sea.

113. γάρ, offered in Masan alternative reading or conjecture, is clearly preferable in sense. Perhaps γάρ ὅπλισμα: where ὅπλισμα *armament* is for ὅπλις. For ὅπλισμα in a similar sense see Eur. *Iph. A.* 253, τῶν Βοιωτῶν δ' ὅπλισμα...εἰδόμεν· τοῖς δὲ Κάδμος ἦν ἀμφὶ ναῶν κόρυμβα, possibly a reminiscence of this passage.

115. διαδέτοι (*sic*) M. Possibly διαδέτοι δέ τοι Dindorf. The genitive γενῶν depends on the preposition.

117. ἀγάνορες, Dindorf: but we cannot tell what limits literary tradition imposed on the semi-Doric language of the chorus, and a peculiar epic word such

as ἀγήνωρ may well have retained its η. πρέποντες στρατοῦ δορυσσόις (or δορυσσόου) σαγαῖς distinguished above the host by their martial accoutrements (or, above the martial host by their accoutrements). The genitive στρατοῦ depends on the comparative sense of πρέποντες, a poetic equivalent for the prose διαπρέποντες. The δόρυ is the universal symbol of war, like the modern sword.

118. πύλαις ἐβδόμαις: a curious use of the ordinal number, which may, however, be explained, if we remember that πύλαι is sing. (*a gate*) as well as plur. A gate which is *one of seven* may as properly be called *a seventh gate* as a man who has six companions is said πορεύεσθαι ἐβδομος αὐτός, the ordinal in either case giving the total of the series only, not the place of the unit. With ἕκαστος therefore the sense would be clear—*were taking post by lots, each at one gate of the seven*; and the idea of distribution is sufficiently expressed by πάλω λαχόντες.—πύλαις ἐπτ' ἐμαῖς Enger.

προσίσταντο πάλῳ λαχόντες.  
 σύ τ', ὦ Διογενὲς φιλόμαχον κράτος, ἀντ. 120  
 ῥυσίπολις γενοῦ,  
 Παλλάς, ὃ θ' ἵππιος ποντομέδων ἀναξ  
 ἰχθυβόλῳ μαχανᾷ Ποσειδᾶν  
 ἐπίλυσιν φονῶν ἐπίλυσιν δίδου.  
 σύ τ' Ἄρης φεῦ φεῦ ἐπώνυμον Κάδμου πόλιν 125  
 φύλαξον κήδεσσι τ' ἐναργῶς.  
 καὶ Κύπρις, ἅτε γένους προμάτωρ,  
 ἄλυσον· σέθεν ἐξ αἵματος

119. προσίστανται. 123. μαχανᾷ. 124. φόνων—φόβου m. 128. σέθεν  
 γὰρ ἐξ αἵματός.

119. **προσίσταντο** Paley: a correction strongly recommended by sense as well as metre. Among the imaginary terrors of this scene this is the only piece of pure fact, which the isolated imperfect serves to mark, while the error of adapting it to the pervading present tenses is facile. What the chiefs 'were doing' the maidens actually learnt; what they suppose the enemy to be doing now is mere imagination.

121. **ῥυσίπολις**: probably (note γενοῦ) a local title of worship, which Pallas is besought to justify. Cf. *vv.* 131 and 9.

122—124. *And thou, Poseidon, lord of the steed, lord of the sea by thy fish-striking engine, with deadly purpose let, O let, thy weapon fly!* Poseidon, whose statue in the scene bears the *harpoon* of his invention (*μηχανή*), is invoked to put forth the power expressed by this deadly symbol. The words *ἰχθυβόλῳ μαχανᾷ* are the hinge of the sentence, explaining (as instrumental) both *ποντομέδων* and *φονῶν* (from *φονάω*), and supplying also the remote object to *δίδου*. The term *ἐπίλυσιν* is borrowed from the chase (see *Lex. s. v. ἐπιλύειν*), perhaps from the use of the harpoon itself. It signifies *slipping at*, or *loosing at*, as of dogs at the quarry. Like the dog, the trident had its leathern *leash*, an analogy which explains the *ἐπιλύειν τριταναν*, whether it was used in

prose or only in a poetic figure. By the form *δίδου ἐπίλυσιν* it is further suggested that the weapon is eager to go. The schol. *καὶ σὺ ὦ Ποσειδῶν δὲ ἀνάσσεις ἐπὶ θήρᾳ ἰχθύων* rightly touches the metaphor. —**φόνων**, with the accentuation of M, is also possible, as an objective genitive to *ἐπίλυσιν* with the meaning *let thy weapon launch death* (cf. *Eum.* 505 *πάντ' ἐφήσω μόρον, I will let loose all manner of death*); but the participle is perhaps more clear.—This passage has been effectually obscured by the unhappy suggestion of the first corrector, *ἐπίλυσιν φόβου*, *give us release from fear*, which has put explanation off the track. To say nothing as to the propriety of the sense put on *ἐπίλυσιν*, the prayer is thus disjoined from the invocation and the whole is reduced to pointless verbiage.

125. **ἐπώνυμον Κάδμου πόλιν**. The πόλις (in the limited sense of *ἀκρόπολις*) of Thebes, the *Καδμεία*, where this scene is laid. Cf. Paus. ix. 5. 2 *Κάδμος δὲ τὴν πόλιν τὴν καλουμένην ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς Καδμείαν ὥκισεν*. See on *v.* 88.—**φεῦ** expresses *indignation* at his supposed neglect.—**κήδεσσι**: *κηδεστὴς ἐναργῶς γενοῦ*, i.e. 'vindicate by visible act thy κῆδος (affinity by marriage) with Cadmus.'—*Ἀρμονίαν γὰρ τὴν Ἀφροδίτης καὶ Ἄρεως εἶχεν Κάδμος*, Schol. The genealogy also explains the appeal to Aphrodite.

γεγόναμεν· λιταῖσί σε θεοκλύτοις  
 ἀπύουσαι πελαζόμεσθα.  
 καὶ σύ, Λύκει' ἀναξ, Λύκειος γενοῦ  
 στρατῷ δατῷ στόνων ἀντάς,  
 σύ τ', ὦ Λατογένεια κούρα.

130

129. λιταῖς. 131. λύκος. 132. ἀντάς. 133. κούρα τόξον \* στυκάζου (?)  
 Ἀρτεμι φῖλα—ἐντυκάζου m.

129. λιταῖσί. Hermann.

132. ἀντάς: i.e. ἀντῆς, substantive "of the agent" from the stem of ἀνῶ *shriek*. This reading, which is in fact that of the MS.—for the accentuation is naturally of no authority—is perhaps preferable to ἀντάς, though the form ἀντῆς does not occur elsewhere. The accentuation ἀντάς is actually given by one of the later MSS., but nothing can be rested upon this. This passage is generally treated as corrupt, for want, as I think, of a true understanding of the subject and of the connexion between στόνου and the invocation of Λύκειος. Either ἀντάς or ἀντάς gives the same meaning—*And thou, wolf-lord, prove thy wolf-power with wail and howl upon the enemy host*. By the title Λύκειος Apollo is associated with the wolf, which in the legends, as usually in such cases, is represented sometimes as his enemy, sometimes as the instrument or the minister of his power. A figure of one of his wolf-servants stood near the great altar at Delphi and was explained by a story. Historically there can be little doubt that the cult of Λύκειος, and that of Λυκαῖος in Arcadia, were simple wolf-worships, absorbed with many others in the anthropomorphic worship of Apollo and Zeus respectively. Under this animal-name and in language older than his own religion he is here invoked to perform a function like that of another animal-deity, Pan, whose terrible cries were supposed to cause the Πανικὸς φόβος (Smith, *Dict. Myth. s.v. Pan*). There is the strongest reason to think that this resemblance to Pan was actually in the

mind of the poet, for the worship of Pan, in conjunction with that of Apollo, had just been solemnly established or restored at Athens in gratitude for aid against the Persians at the battle of Marathon, Herod. 6. 105. Pausanias 1. 28, 4. See on the former passage Blakesley, who suggests with great probability that the 'Apollo' of this cult had appropriated an older worship and legend. For the animal character of the god as an instrument of terror, compare the invocation of Dionysus, Eur. *Bacch.* 1017 φάνηθι ταῦρος ἢ πολύκρανος ἰδεῖν δράκων.—Λύκειος γενοῦ: πολέμιος· ὅλον, ὥσπερ λύκος αὐτοῖς ἐφόρμησον ἀνθ' ὧν ἡμεῖς νῦν θρηνοῦμεν (in recompense of our lamentations). οὕτω τινὲς τὸ Λύκειος. ἢ, ἐπιβλαβὴς τοῖς πολεμοῖς ἐπὶ (in the presence of) τῆς ἀντῆς τῶν στόνων γενοῦ, ὅλον ἐπὶ τοῦ πολέμου (taking ἀντῆ in the epic sense of *war*): Schol. Both explanations are correct as far as they go with respect to Λύκειος: the first has been supposed to point to a variant for ἀντάς (whence Wecklein ἀντίτας *reayer*); but probably it is, like the second, only an attempt to construe the genitive by the favourite ancient device of a preposition "understood". If we suppose syllabic correspondence with the strophe we must change the order to ἀντάς στόνων στρατῷ δατῷ. But see *Appendix*.

133. τόξον \* στυκάζου Ἀρτεμι φῖλα. If M really has an σ, these words may be a mere corruption of τόξον στοχάζου, for neither εὐτυκάξεσθαι: εὐτυκτον ἔχε, ἐτοιμον (L. Dindorf), nor τυχάξεσθαι: στοχάξεσθαι (Hartung) has any authority ex-

ἔ ἔ ἔ ἔ,	στρ.
ὄτοβον ἀρμάτων ἀμφὶ πόλιν κλύω,	135
ὦ πότνι' Ἥρα·	
ἔλακον ἀξόνων βριθομένων χνόαι.	
Ἄρτεμι φίλα·	
ἔ ἔ ἔ ἔ.	
δοριτίνεκτος δ' αἰθήρ ἐπιμαίνεται.	140
τί πόλις ἄμμι πάσχει, τί γενήσεται;	
ποῖ δ' ἔτι τέλος ἐπάγει θεός;	
ἔ ἔ ἔ ἔ,	ἀντ.
ἀκροβόλων δ' ἐπάλξεων λιθὰς ἔρχεται.	
ὦ φίλ' Ἀπολλόν—	145
κónαβος ἐν πύλαις χαλκοδέτων σακέων—	
καὶ Διόθεν	

## 136. πότνια.

cept this passage and glosses probably referring to it (see *Lex. s. vv.*). In any case, they are an interpolation; for the metrical evidence see v. 119. By the epithet *Λατογένεια* Artemis (*Λυκία*) as well as Apollo is connected with the wolf, the she-wolf being one of the forms of Leto (Smith *Dict. Myth. s. v. Leto*). She is here invoked with her brother in the same wolfish aspect, and no separate prayer is required. In introducing the 'bow' the interpolator was guided by the later conception of *Δύκειος* and his sister. As Apollo and Artemis assimilated the wolf-deities, the aspect of the old animal-gods disappeared in a refined anthropomorphic god and goddess of light whose arrows are fire. (See Soph. *O. T.* 203 *fol.* with Prof. Jebb's note.) But Aeschylus here, as often, touches far more primitive ideas, and the 'bow' is aesthetically as well as metrically out of place. It will be observed that neither 'Apollo' nor 'Artemis' is here named.—*Ἀρτεμι φίλα* omitted by Seidler.

137. *βριθομένων*, note the tense. *The naves cried as the axles felt the weight, literally were being loaded.*

140. *And the air (sky?) is maddened*

*above (ἐπι-?) with the shaking of the spears (?)*. A hyperbole in the style familiar to modern literature through the Latin poets, but surprising in Aeschylus.

142. *And to what beyond doth fate lead the event? θεός.* See vv. 4, 21, 35 etc.

144. *ἀκροβόλων*. The only proved sense of this word is *skirmisher* and specially *slinger* (see *Lex. s. vv. ἀκροβόλος, ἀκροβολέω*, etc.), and it may have that sense here (Blomfield). The majority, however, make it here a passive adj. (*ἀκρόβολος*) *hit at the top*.—*ἐπαλξέων* depends on *λιθὰς ἔρχεται*, by a construction between the objective genitive and that of such verbs as *στοχάζεσθαι*.—The *λιθὰς* comes from the besiegers, not the besieged (so Hermann). The speakers in this litany make no account of the human defence.

147. *And thou, chaste power of war established by Zeus, and blessed queen of the patriot battle, Onca, save thy seat of the Seven Gates.* Ὀγκα: Theban goddess, identified (according to Pausanias and the schol. here) with Athena, and derived by local tradition from the Phoenicians. The corresponding masculine

πολεμόκραντον ἄγνόν τέλος ἐν μάχαι-  
σί τε μάκαιρ' ἄνασσ' Ὅγκα πρὸ πόλεως,  
ἐπτάπυλον ἔδος ἐπιρρύνου.

150

ἰὼ παναρκεῖς θεοί,

στρ.

ἰὼ τέλειοι τέλειαί τε γᾶς

τᾶσδέ γε πυργοφύλακες,

πόλιν δορίπονον μὴ προδῶθ'

ἑτεροφώνῳ στρατῷ.

155

κλύετε παρθένων κλύετε πανδίκως

χειροτόνους λιτάς.

ἰὼ φίλοι δαίμονες

ἀντ.

λυτήριοί τ' ἀμφιβάντες πόλιν

δείξαθ' ὥς φιλοπόλεις,

160

μέλεσθε δ' ἱερῶν δημίων,

μελόμενοι δ' ἀρήξατε

φιλοθύτων δέ τοι πόλεως ὀργίων

μνήστορες ἔστε μοι.

150. ἐπιρρύνου corr. by m. 151. παναρκεῖς m'. 156. πανδίκους corr. to παν-  
δίκως. 159. λυτήριοι ἀμφιβάντες.

(Ὅγκος, Ὅγκιος, Ὅγκαιος) appears in the legends of Arcadia (Paus. 8. 25) in connection with Apollo, who here also is associated with Ὅγκα, *v.* 146 being parenthetic.—*τέλος power, authority*; for the personal sense cf. *Supp.* 533 ἀναξ ἀνάκτων, μακάρων μακάρτατε καὶ τελέων τελειώτατον κράτος, which unites the same three terms of invocation which we have here.—For proposed corrections see Wecklein. If τέλος be taken as above, there is nothing in the sense to throw doubt upon the MS. As to the metre see *Appendix*.

151. παναρκεῖς (or παναλκεῖς) θεοί *gods whose quality it is to help*. Cf. πάντρομος πελειῖς 281.—κατὰ πάντα βοηθοί. τοῦτο γὰρ ἴδιον θεῶν. Schol.

153. τέλειοι γᾶς τᾶσδέ γε πυργοφύλακες *who by your office are sentinels of these towers*. For τέλειος (from τέλος in the sense of *v.* 148) cf. ὦνρ τέλειος of the husband who bears rule in the house (*Ag.* 963); the same explanation

probably applies to τελεῖα as the epithet of the married Ἥρα (*Ἥρας τελεῖας καὶ Διὸς πιστώματα Eum.* 214).—The γε of M, whether correct or not, gives an excellent point, contrasting their general quality *as gods*, with the more particular duty to their local habitation.

154. δορίπονον *in the struggle of war*. Slightly different in 615.

157. Note the emphasis given by position to παρθένων; it is because of their purity that they can *justly hold up their hands*.

159. λυτήριοι τ' Seidler. ἀμφιβάντες *standing over*, in the attitude of protection.

160. φιλοπόλεις. Cf. μεγαλοπόλεις Pind. *Pyth.* 2, 1. Supply ἔστε.

163. πόλεος Porson. τοι gives φιλοθύτων ὀργίων the tone of reminder, being used of that which is in the knowledge of the person addressed. φιλοθύτων ὀργίων *the welcome sacrificial feasts*, the second part of the compound repeating the idea of the substantive.

- ET. ὑμᾶς ἐρωτῶ, θρέμματ' οὐκ ἀνασχετά,  
 ἢ ταῦτ' ἄριστα, καὶ πόλει σωτήρια  
 στρατῷ τε θάρσος τῷδε πυργηρουμένη  
 βρέτη πεσούσας πρὸς πολιτισσούχων θεῶν  
 αὔειν, λακάζειν, σωφρόνων μισήματα;  
 μήτ' ἐν κακοῖσι μήτ' ἐν εὐεστοῖ φῖλην  
 ξύνουκος εἶην τῇ γυναικείῃ γένει·  
 κρατοῦσα μὲν γὰρ οὐχ ὀμίλητόν θράσος,  
 δέισασα δ' οἴκῳ καὶ πόλει πλεον κακόν.  
 καὶ νῦν πολίταις τάσδε διαδρόμους φυγὰς  
 θείσαι διερροθήσατ' ἄψυχον κάκην,

167. πυργηρουμένη corr. to πυργηρουμένῃ.

165. The cries and flight of the maidens have alarmed the city and discouraged the fighting men. Eteocles, interrupted in the task of selecting his seven champions now returns in haste and anger to quiet them. He is accompanied by some of his soldiers (v. 167).—*ὑμᾶς*. Note the emphasis. He appeals to their own reason.

166. We must notice that *καὶ* is not a copula and does not join *ἄριστα* to *σωτήρια*: it signifies *even*, and marks, as often, an appeal to an admitted premiss—“*Is this best even (or merely) as a way to save the city and to encourage her defenders*, which safety and defence are what you seek?” These noisy supplications actually defeat their own object, besides being, as he adds, indecent (v. 169).—It is the erroneous supposition that *καὶ* is a copula, together with the sense that upon that supposition *ἄριστα καὶ πόλει σωτήρια* would be bad writing, which has suggested the substitution of *ἀρεστὰ* (Dindorf) or *χρήστα* (Meineke).

167. *πυργηρουμένη* (πόλει) depends upon *σωτήρια θάρσος τε στρατῷ τῷδε*, *to save the beleaguered city and encourage her soldiers here* (to whom he points). It is the ‘possessive’ dative or dative of ‘interest’, which in poetry frequently represents a prose genitive. See on vv. 621, 907. The correction of M may of

course be from the preceding copy, but is more probably a hasty conjecture.

169. *αὔειν λακάζειν*. The latter word has the same contemptuous effect in *Supp.* 884; *αὔειν* is connected by Blomfield with *αὔ*, the bark of a dog, so that it would differ from the epic verb whose future is *αὔσω*.—*σωφρόνων μισήματα* (*dehaviour*) which decency abhors: *ταῦτα, ἃ πράττετε, μισήσειαν ἂν οἱ εὖ φρονούντες ἄνδρες*, Schol. It belongs to the *σώφρων*, a word for which we lack a precise equivalent, to control himself and to avoid extravagance in gesture and expression as in other things.

171. *τω* M (see Hermann). *τῷ* Wecklein.

172—173. The so-called “pendent” nominatives *κρατοῦσα* and *δέισασα* are justified in thought by the fact that *γυνή* is the logical though not the grammatical subject of the following sentences.

173. Either (1) *the trouble is more for house and city*, or (2) as one of the later scholiasts, *it is a trouble to a house, and for a city more*. The second gives the better point; *ξύνουκος* in v. 171 leads up naturally to *οἴκῳ*, and *καὶ πόλει πλεον* extends it for the present purpose.

174. *καὶ νῦν* see on v. 21. *πολίταις* with *διερροθήσατε*. *διαδρόμους* in full sense; the maidens have run through the city from various parts to the Acropolis, spreading fear as they went.

τὰ τῶν θύραθεν δ' ὡς ἄριστ' ὀφέλλεται,  
 αὐτοὶ δ' ὑφ' αὐτῶν ἐνδοθεν πορθούμεθα.  
 κεῖ μή τις ἀρχῆς τῆς ἐμῆς ἀκούσεται,  
 ἀνὴρ γυνή τε χῶ τι τῶν μεταίχμιον,  
 ψήφος κατ' αὐτῶν ὀλεθρία βουλευέσεται,  
 λευστήρα δῖμον δ' οὐ τι μὴ φύγῃ μόρον.  
 μέλει γὰρ ἀνδρί, μὴ γυνὴ βουλευέτω  
 τᾶξωθεν ἐνδον δ' οὐσα μὴ βλάβην τιθῇ.

180

178. τῆς written above the line.

181. φύγῃ<sup>α</sup> corr. to φύγῃ.

183. τίθει.

177. After this line the later MSS. insert τοιαῦτα ἄν (or τ' ἄν or γ' ἄν: τὰν Blomfield) γυναῖξι συνναίων ἔχουσιν. But the abruptness and incoherence of the καὶ in v. 178 is intentional. It is as incorrect and as appropriate to the feelings of the speaker as the reference to the possible 'third sex'.

180—181. *The pebble (of council) shall deliberate the doom of them, and by the stoning of the people they shall inevitably die.* Regular justice with its chance of escape will be supplemented by the rude justice of a desperate populace. The first half of the antithesis, though without a μὲν, as often, merely leads the way to the second, which expresses the real point, the certainty of punishment in the present situation. κατ' αὐτῶν, i.e. κατ' αὐτῶν τῶν βουλευομένων. αὐτός is emphatic, as almost always in Aeschylus. The fears of Eteocles extend, as his language shows, beyond the women; he is afraid that their conduct will encourage the disaffected to dispute orders. If any debate instead of obeying (for the antithesis cf. vv. 209, 210, and note βουλευέτω in v. 182), he will first turn *against themselves*, the plotters, their own instrument of deliberation, and if that fails, he will bring upon them the enraged people. (See the case cited below.) βουλευέσεται passive. *A vote of death will be deliberated* (not *resolved upon*). There is a double antithesis between the βουλή (suggested by βουλευέσεται) and the δῆμος and between the

voting-pebble and the stone. (Compare the 'voting-pebble' of Amompharetus, Herod. IX. 55.) Note the emphasis given to δήμου as well as λευστήρα by the position of δέ.—This passage derives, and I think was certainly meant to derive, a terrible significance from certain facts within the memory of the Athenian audience. Aeschylus, it would appear, had not forgotten the fate of Lycides, one of the Athenian βουλή, stoned to death, as well as his wife and children, by the people, in the year of Plataea, for proposing to refer to the δῆμος the terms offered by Mardonius. (Herod. IX. 5.) If we may reasonably presume that the members of the βουλή who instigated the populace to despatch him, had not omitted to demand his punishment in the council, the case will be the more suggestive.

183. τιθῇ or τίθει? M (which gives τιθεῖς for τίθης in v. 223, ἄρει for ἄρει in v. 484, στήγει for στυγεῖ in Cho. 110, θῆη for θεῖη in Cho. 340, πάρει for παρῇ in Cho. 521 etc.) is of no authority on the point. But the sense appears decisive against τίθει. The injunction ἐνδον οὐσα μὴ βλάβην τίθει cannot, by the rules of grammar, mean 'Go within and do not hinder'. Nor indeed does Eteocles in this scene express any wish that the maidens should return home. With τιθῇ we have a forcible climax: 'What is beyond the door is the man's affair; let not the woman advise therein. Within



ἤκουσας ἢ οὐκ ἤκουσας, ἢ κωφῇ λέγω;  
 ΧΟ. ὦ φίλον Οἰδίπου τέκος, ἔδεις' ἀκού- στρ. α'. 185  
 σασα τὸν ἄρματόκτυπον  
 ὄτοβον, ὅτι τε σύ-  
 ριγγες ἔκλαγξαν ἐλίστροχοι,

187. ὅτε κα.

the house she is like enough to hinder'. For μή with subj. as an independent sentence expressing a probable doubt or fear see Hom. *Od.* 22. 213, and other examples in Kühner *Gr. Gram.* § 394, 6.—τάξωθεν, which in prose order would follow ἄνδρι, is displaced to point the antithesis with ἐνδον.—βλάβην: *hindrance* rather than *mischief* merely. Cf. *Eum.* 495 εἰ κρατήσει βλάβη τοῦδε ματροκτόνου *if the matricide shall succeed in checking* (us), and the phrases βλάπτεσθαι κελεύθου, βλαβέντα δρόμων.

185. On the metres see *Appendix*.

ἀκούσασα. They mistake, or choose to mistake, the meaning of his question ἤκουσας; cf. *v.* 232.—On this word depend (1) ὄτοβον, (2) ὅτι τε ἐκλαγξαν, (3) ἱππικῶν τε χαλιῶν, the cases according to the common distinction, acc. of the sound heard, gen. of the source whence it proceeds.—ὅτι, in its primary sense as a relative pronoun, gives an intentional vagueness, and *all the rolling bass of the chariot-wheel*.—σύριγγες the *wheel*, properly *staves*. The origin of this word is traced in the schol. (m') to the archaic form of wheel, made not with radiating *spokes*, but with two sets of *cross bars* at right angles to each other. Such a wheel is a first departure from the solid, and far more easy for a rude workman to make than that with spokes. The intervals of the cross-pieces being equal, the lengths of them diminish regularly from the central one, so that each set resembles the double *σύριγξ* with its diminishing pipes, and the entire structure was therefore called *σύριγγες*, or less accurately as in Soph. *El.* 721 *σύριγξ*. *σύριγγες* τὰ ξύλα τὰ μέσον τοῦ

περιφεροῦς ξύλου τοῦ τροχοῦ διαπεραιού- μενα. τὸ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν ἐστὶ μέγα, τὸ δὲ ἕτερον μικρότερον, ἄλλο δ' αὖ τοῦ δευτέρου μικρότερον, λόγον τῶν αὐλῶν τῶν συρίγγων ἐπέχοντα. This interesting explanation carries authority, though we need not necessarily suppose that the Attic poets so conceived their wheels; the name *σύριγγες*, though no longer appropriate, would easily pass to the improved spoke-wheel. See however the description of the breaking wheel in Eur. *Hipp.* 1234 *σύριγγες ἄνω τροχῶν ἐπήδων*. The stave-wheel would certainly break exactly thus. The interpretation *axle-box* or *axle-ribe* (*Lex.*) is wholly without evidence, and contrary to the passage in the *Electra*, where as elsewhere the axle-box is *χροή*.—ἀύπων: probably corrupt: perhaps for αὐσπῶν (-πῶν) or ἀνόπρουν (-προυν), from αὐός, *harsh-sounding* (see *Lex. s.v.*), whence αὐονή *harsh sound* (*κραυγή Etym. Mag.*), used in Aesch. *Eum.* 334 θῆμος ἐξ Ἑρινῶν ἀφόρμικτος αὐονὰ βροτοῖς (where see Hermann, who however there prefers another interpretation). Join αὐσπῶν διὰ στόμα. ἱππικόν (Bothe) would simplify the construction. Note that the whole description here suggests the metaphor of a harsh and dreadful *musée*; *θοσβος* (of the flute), *σύριγγες* (cf. *Suhr.* 187 *σύριγγες οὐ σιγῶσιν ἄξονή- λατοι*, where as here the verbal association with sound is not forgotten), *κλαγγή* (of bass voices Soph. *Trach.* 206). In the *χαλινοί* the poet has probably in view some such arrangement for sound as is described at *v.* 450. Translate literally and the *hard-blown guiding gear in the horse's mouth*.—αὐ κρόον Eble, ἀπύαν Paley.—πῆδαλιον plural, though

ἱππικῶν τ' αὐπνων†

πηδαλίων διὰ στόμα,

190

πυριβρεμετᾶν χαλινῶν—

ET. τί οὖν; ὁ ναύτης ἄρα μὴ 'ς πρῶραν φυγὼν

πρύμνηθεν ἦρεν μηχανὴν σωτηρίας,

νεὼς καμούσης ποντίῳ \* \* ματι;

XO. —ἀλλ' ἐπὶ δαιμόνων πρόδρομος ἦλθον ἀρ- ἀντ. α'. 195

χαῖα βρέτη, πῖσυνος θεοῖς.

νιφάδος ὅτ' ὀλοᾷς

νιφομένας βρόμος ἐν πύλαις,

δὴ τότε ἦρθην φόβῳ

πρὸς μακάρων λιτάς, πόλεως

200

ἔν' ὑπερέχοιεν ἀλκάν.

ET. πύργον στέγειν εὐχεσθε πολέμιον δόρυ.

οὔκουν τάδ' ἔσται πρὸς θεῶν; ἀλλ' οὖν θεοῖς

τοὺς τῆς ἀλούσης ἐκλιπεῖν πόλεως λόγος.

191. πυριγενετᾶν.

194. ἐν κύ written in the erasure by m.

204. πόλεως

ἐκλιπεῖν corr. to ἐκλείπειν.

στόμα is singular, because the bit is compared to the steering apparatus with two blades (see *Lex. s. v.*).

191. *πυριβρεμετᾶν*: Dindorf. I put this, which gives far better sense, in the text, because the gloss which he cites from Hesychius (*πυριβρεμέτας ὁ χαλινός*: Τιμαχίδας δὲ ἦτοι ὁ πυρὶ βρέμων ἢ διὰ πυρὸς βρέμοντος γεγονώς) seems to have been an actual record of a double reading here; it should probably run something thus: Τιμαχίδας δὲ (*i.e.* 'Timachidas reads') *πυριγενετᾶς* ἦτοι ὁ πυρὶ βρέμων ἢ ὁ διὰ πυρὸς γεγονώς. As the text of Hesychius stands the second supposed interpretation of *πυριβρεμέτας* is incomprehensible. The 'fire' is a rhetorical exaggeration for hot breath: cf. *Eum.* 138 *ἀτμῷ κατισχναίνουσα, νηδύος πυρὶ*. *πυριγενετᾶν*, *fire-created, i.e. forged*, has little point.

192. *ἐς πρῶραν*, to pray to the tutelary image or images with which it was decorated. Hence the parallel. (Paley.)

194. *καμούσης*. Note the tense; *beaten, over-strained*.—*σαλεύματι* Wecklein.

199. The omission of the past tense (*ἦν*) is irregular. Possibly *ἐν* is a mistake for it.

202—204. The order of the words here is all-important, as the point turns entirely on the emphasis given in different ways to *πύργον*, *θεῶν*, and *θεοῖς*. *That the wall may keep out the foe should be your prayer. Will not that be the act of the gods? But as for gods, those of a taken town desert her citadel, 'tis said.* Eteocles speaks with the same sceptical irony here as elsewhere. If the town is to be saved, it must be by means of the wall and the human defence, and this, he adds maliciously, will be *πρὸς θεῶν* (*αἰρία θεοῦ v. 4*) after all;—as for the gods, religion herself explains that when a town is taken the gods (of the citadel) leave their posts.—*πόλεως* belongs strictly to *ἐκλιπεῖν*, with *ἀλούσης* we must supply *πόλεως*, or rather *γῆς*: cf. *v.* 102 and *Ag.* 350 *τοῦς πολιτισσοῦχους θεοὺς τοὺς τῆς ἀλούσης γῆς*. Here and throughout this scene the *πόλις* is the *πόλις* proper or *citadel*, which is held by the maidens to

- ΧΟ. μήποτ' ἐμὸν κατ' αἰῶνα λίποι θεῶν στρ. β'. 205  
 ἄδε πανάγυρις, μηδ' ἐπίδοιμι τάνδ'  
 ἀστυδρομουμέναν πόλιν καὶ στρατεύμ'  
 ἀπτόμενον πυρὶ δαΐφ.
- ΕΤ. μή μοι θεοὺς καλοῦσα βουλεύου κακῶς·  
 πειθαρχία γάρ ἐστι τῆς εὐπραξίας 210  
 μήτηρ, γυνὴ σωτήρος· ὧδ' ἔχει λόγος.

205. λείποι—λίποι rasc.

be especially under the protection of heaven.—πόλεος ἐκλιπεῖν rasc. οὖν has in both places the same force, *after all*, or *if you come to that*.—ἐκλιπεῖν (gnomic aorist) with allusion to the military use of the word (see *Lex. s. v.*).—The scholl. cite the tradition respecting the departure of the gods of Troy before the capture, introduced by Virgil in Aen. II. 351. Here again Aeschylus has in mind the events of the Persian war: μᾶλλον τι οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ προθυμότερον ἐξέλιπον τὴν πόλιν, ὡς καὶ τῆς θεοῦ ἀπολελοιπύνης τὴν ἀκρόπολιν Herod. VIII. 41 (Paley). Eteocles however, it will be seen, abuses the doctrine.—The second corrector (m') gives οὐκοῦν (sic)...θεῶν to the Chorus, and there are many other proposed emendations. But the lines are right and clear enough, if regard is paid to the emphasis.

206. ἐπ-ἰδοιμι *live to see*.

208. γρ. (γράφει or γράφεται) τυφόμενον. οἶον, καίόμενον πολέμῳ πυρὶ. Schol. The two notes should probably be distinguished, the first being an emendation, the second a (correct) explanation. τὸ στρατεύμα τῶν πολεμίων ἀπτόμενον τῆς πόλεως πυρὶ δαΐφ, ἦτοι καὶ οὖν αὐτὴν Schol. rasc. followed by some editors; but ἀπτόμενον is not ἄπτον. Others emend, e.g. Prie, καὶ στρατοῦ δαπτομέναν πυρὶ δαΐφ. But the Chorus, in the naive simplicity of their religious feeling, mean exactly what they say. The gods, that is, the ancient wooden βρέτη themselves, are the στρατεύμα which defend the citadel (the sarcasm of Eteocles implies as much), and the maidens pray that they may

never see them burnt, as they assuredly would be if the πόλις was taken. This feeling respecting the actual images is well illustrated by a schol. on v. 291 ἐρηται δὲ καὶ ἐν Ξωανηφόροις Σοφοκλέους ὡς οἱ θεοὶ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰλίου φέρουσιν ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων τὰ ἐαντῶν ξόανα (wooden images), εἰδότες ὅτι ἀλίσκεται. The burning of the sacred places of Athens including the acropolis was one of the most terrible features of the Persian war (Herod. VIII. 31 foll.). The Athenian spectators would remember with thankfulness that their own βρέτη, or at least the most precious βρέτας of Athena, had been previously removed. The corrector who suggested ἀπτόμενον seems to have suspected a direct allusion to the taking of the acropolis, whose human defenders, though not burnt, were 'smoked', the Persians having attacked the wooden defences with ignited arrows.

209—11. If religion is to be invoked, there is religion for the obedience of woman. The goodman Σωτήρ, his wife Πειθαρχία, and her daughter Εὐπραξία are personages in the allegorical story (σωματοποιεῖ τὰ πράγματα Schol.) and would be written by us with capitals. γυνὴ σωτήρος. λείπει Διὸς· γυνή (wife) Διὸς σωτήρος Schol.; there are examples of the ellipse (see *Lex. s. σωτήρ*) but it is not necessary to suppose that this particular fable identified Σωτήρ with Ζεὺς. The quaintness of γυνή σωτήρος, which amuses the speaker, is a characteristic not to be improved away.—γονῆς σωτήρος Hermann; μόνης σωτήρος

- ΧΟ. ἔστι θεοῦ δ' ἔτ' ἰσχυρὸς καθυπερτέρα· ἀντ. β'.  
πολλάκι δ' ἐν κακοῖσι τὰν ἀμήχανον  
κάκ χαλεπῶς δύας ὑπερθ' ὁμμάτων  
κρημναμενᾶν νεφελᾶν ὀρθοῖ 215
- ΕΤ. ἀνδρῶν τὰδ' ἐστί, σφάγια καὶ χρηστήρια  
θεοῖσιν ἔρδειν, πολεμίων πειρωμένοις·  
σὸν δ' αὖ τὸ σιγᾶν καὶ μένειν εἴσω δόμων.
- ΧΟ. διὰ θεῶν πόλιν νεμόμεθ' ἀδάματον, στρ. γ'.  
δυσμενέων δ' ὄχλον πύργος ἀποστέγει. 220  
τίς τὰδε νέμεσις στυγεῖ;  
ΕΤ. οὔτοι φθονῶ σοι δαιμόνων τιμᾶν γένος·

215. κρημναμέναν νεφέλαν. 217. ἔρδειν. 219. νεμόμεσθ' ἀδάμαντον. 221. τί.

Oberdick; and see Wecklein *Appendix*.—The other explanations of the Schol. σωστικῆς—οἰκείως ἔχουσα πρὸς τὸ σώζεσθαι are consistent with the ms. reading.

212. Man is strong but God is stronger.

213. τὰν: so also Marcellinus, citing this passage (Vit. Thucyd. § 5).—κακοῖσιν τὸν ἀμήχανον Canter, from the schol. τὸν μὴ δυνάμενον ἑαυτῷ μηχανήσασθαι, which however does not imply that the masculine was in the text, for on τί μέλλομεν ἀγαστονοί (v. 95) he writes τί ἐστῶτες στενάζομεν, though the text is obviously feminine, explaining the expression without reference to the gender. And note that if the Chorus are made to use the masculine, the answer of Eteocles (ἀνδρῶν τὰδ' ἐστί) loses some point. The correction must stand on metre only. See *Appendix*.

214. καὶ χαλεπῶς ὑπὲρ τε Marcellinus.

215. ὀρθοῖ. σοῖ Hermann, ὁδοῖ Oberdick on metrical grounds. See however *Appendix*. κρημναμενᾶν νεφελᾶν Hermann.

216. τὰ εἰς χρῆσιν (*enquiry*) καὶ θυσίαν θύματα Schol. σφάγια are properly offerings of blood, χρηστήρια parts of the victims used for divination.

217. πειρωμένοις, dative of reference or of the persons interested, which has been well called "the beginning of a dative

absolute that did not ripen" (Gildersleeve, *Pindar*, pref. p. xciii.); literally, 'for those who are trying force with the foe, it is the men's part, etc.' The voice of πειρωμένοις expresses mutual relation, as in λαυδοροῦμαι, ἀπτεσθαι etc.; each of the combatants περὶ τοῦ ἐτέρου.

218. τῇ γυναικί Schol., whence Wecklein suggests σοὶ for σὸν. But σὸν ἐστί τῇ γυναικί would be good Greek. See on v. 628.

219. νεμόμεθ' *recc.* ἀδάματον Pauw.

219—21. By divine help we hold impregnable our citadel, while the wall doth bar the throng of foemen. Why doth jealousy mislike this?—Why not, that is, have both protections, the divine aid which we take for our portion (νεμόμεθα) here, and the external defence on which you rely? τὰδε: this partition. Note the correlation of νεμόμεθα and νέμεσις, which has its strict meaning, jealousy of improper distribution.—τ' for δ' Weil, which would be necessary if διὰ θεῶν applied equally to both clauses; but in fact there is an antithesis.—τίς Heath, for metre; literally, *what sort of jealousy is it which mislikes this?*

222. δαιμόνων γένος the 'god-kind' or *spiritual sort*. δαίμων is less dignified than θεός, and the addition of γένος aids the contemptuous liberality of the permission.

ἀλλ' ὥς πολίτας μὴ κακοσπλάγγχους τίθης,  
εὐκηλος ἴσθι μὴδ' ἄγαν ὑπερφοβοῦ.

XO. ποταίνιον κλύουσα πάταγον ἄμμιγα      ἀντ. γ'. 225  
ταρβουσύνφ φόβφ τάνδ' ἐς ἀκρόπαλιν,  
τίμιον ἔδος, ἰκόμαν.

ET. μὴ νῦν, ἐὰν θηήσκοντας ἢ τετρωμένους  
πύθησθε, κωκυτοῖσιν ἀρπαλίζετε  
τούτφ γὰρ Ἄρης βόσκεται, φόνφ βροτῶν.      230

XO. καὶ μὴν ἀκούω γ' ἱππικῶν φρυαγμάτων.

223. τιθεῖς—τιθῆς m'.

223. τίθης. The form τιθεῖς though common in the MSS. is not Attic: see *Lex. s. v.* But the tense is right, and should not be changed, as in all the texts, into the subjunctive τιθῆς. ὥς is not final, but modal, like ὅπως in Eur. *Med.* 330 ὅπως δὲ παραστῶσιν τύχαι, according as (i.e. so far as, provided that) fortune may attend it; ὥς...μὴ is according as...not, and is equivalent to the English 'if only...not', 'except', or 'provided that...not' (cf. *ὅτε μὴ except when, ὅτι μὴ except that* etc. and see Kühner *Gr. Gramm.* § 512, 4 b). Translate *If only thou disheartenest not thy fellow-citizens, be easy and have no needless fear.* The pres. indicative (as with *ὅτι μὴ*) implies that they are doing the prohibited thing. Eteocles urges still, but in a gentler form, the same point as before—it is the maidens who are causing what danger there is. The final mood (*that thou mayest not dishearten*) would not suit *v.* 224: εὐκηλος ἴσθι is not *be quiet* but *be easy*: εὐκηλος refers to internal feelings not to external behaviour.—Note the stress on πολίτας (displaced from its natural position after the negative) in antithesis to δαιμόνων.

225—7. On the metre and metrical corrections see *Appendix*. — ποταίνιον. The emphasis on this word *new, fresh* implies that with custom their terror is diminishing, and marks the transition to a different mood. See next note.—ἀκρό-  
πολων Porson.

228. νῦν belongs to the hypothetical as well as to the principal clause, being displaced for emphasis. 'You may *now* hear something strange; do not fall now into the same folly'.—*νῦν* edd. here and in *v.* 232; but there is no proof that Aeschylus used the enclitic *νῦν* with a long *ν*, these being the only two supposed examples. Moreover the sense in both places points to the temporal *νῦν*.

229. ἀρπαλίζετε: this verb is cited only from here and from *Eum.* 984 μὴδὲ πίοῦσα κόνις μέλαν αἷμα πολιτῶν δι' ὄργαν ποινὰς ἀντιφόνους ἄτας ἀρπαλίσαι πόλεως. The passages are obscure and not easy to reconcile, but the points of contact are clearly πίοῦσα and βόσκεται. The analogy of ἀρπαλέος and ἀρπαλιμός suggests a connexion with gluttony, and we may conjecture for the primary meaning *to behave gluttonously*, which, according to the circumstances, may be either *greedily* or *fastidiously*. The first cannot be applied here except ironically; the second would suit very well. *If now ye hear of men dying or wounded, make no fastidious outcry; for this is Ares' meat, even the blood of men.* The form may be either transitive or intransitive (cf. ὑβρίζω), here probably intransitive. The relation of these words to the stem ἀρπαγ- (ἀρπάζω) is uncertain, and must at any rate be remote.

231. καὶ μὴν ἀκούω γε. *There! I do hear; it is no fancy.*

- ET. μὴ νῦν ἀκούουσ' ἐμφανῶς ἄκου' ἄγαν.  
 XO. στένει πόλισμα γῆθεν ὡς κυκλούμενων.  
 ET. οὐκοῦν ἔμ' ἀρκεῖ τῶνδε βουλευεῖν πέρι.  
 XO. δέδοικ'—ἀραγμός δ' ἐν πύλαις ὀφέλλεται. 235  
 ET. οὐ· σῖγα· μηδὲν τῶνδ' ἐρεῖς κατὰ πτόλιν;  
 XO. ὦ ξυντέλεια, μὴ προδοῖς πυργώματα.  
 ET. οὐκ ἐς φθόρον σιγῶς' ἀνασχήσῃ τάδε;  
 XO. θεοὶ πολῖται, μὴ με δουλείας τυχεῖν.  
 ET. αὐτὴ σὺ δουλοῖς καὶ πᾶσαν πτόλιν. 240  
 XO. ὦ παγκρατὲς Ζεῦ, τρέψον εἰς ἐχθροὺς βέλος.

238. φόρον σι φόνον—φθόρον μ'.

232. νῦν ἀκούουσ' ἐμφανῶς *now that thou really hearest, be not too hearing.* Cf. *σν.* 184—5.—*νν* edd. but the temporal *νν* is actually required, and see on *v.* 228.

233. πόλισμα may be either (1) from *πολίζω* to build a city, a synonym of *πόλις*, or (2) from *πολλίζω* to go round and round, revolve about (cf. *ἀναπολλίζω*, *πόλος*, *πολεύω* etc.), a *revolution* or *roll*. Etymologically the two words are identical, *πόλισμα* (= *πόλις*) being properly a *circle*. The second gives a far better sense here, *there comes a low sound from the earth, as it were the roll of them going round*, and *πόλισμα* is thus brought into line with *φρύαγμα* in *v.* 231 and *ἀραγμός* in *v.* 235. With *πόλισμα fortress γῆθεν* cannot be fairly translated. A schol. sees this difficulty and tries to avoid it by taking *πόλισμα* as object to *κυκλούμενων*, of course making *στένει γῆθεν* impersonal. ὡς κυκλούντων τὴν πόλιν τῶν πολεμίων σείεται, φησὶν, ἡ ἡμετέρα γῆ. (This perhaps suggested the reading *πόλισμα...κυκλῶνται* in *v.* 113, where see note.) We have *διήκει πόλιν στόνος... στένει πέδον* in *v.* 883, but that and the parallel passages have no resemblance to this and do not affect the question.

234. ἔμ'. An extremely rare elision, except at the beginning of the verse. The two regular positions of *ἐμέ*, which of course has the emphasis, are at the beginning and at the end.

235. Note the adversative *δὲ* *but*. *δέδοικα* is the beginning of a reply to the previous verse, which is cut short by a fresh alarm.

236. *Nay! Hush! Wilt thou tell naught of it in the town?* ironically for 'Your warning is somewhat superfluous'. Cf. *v.* 234.—The punctuation of *M* (as above) seems necessary both to grammar and sense. If the verse be taken as one sentence (so many edd.) the position of *σῖγα* is surely preposterous. There is no such difficulty in *Eur. Or.* 1022 οὐ σὶγ', ἀφείσα τοὺς γυναικεῖους γόους, στέρξεις τὰ κρανθέντα;

237. *ξυντέλεια*, company of *ξυντελείς*, i.e. those united in the office (*τέλος*) of *φύλακες* (cf. *v.* 152). The Scholl. well cite *Hom. Il.* 10. 56 ἐλθεῖν ἐς φυλάκων ἱερὸν τέλος.

239. *πολῖται* adjective; 'gods who are our fellow-citizens'.

240. *δουλοῖς*: *treat as slaves*, because none but slaves would submit to the interference of women.—*καὶ σὲ Wunderlich*.

241. βέλος νῦν τὸν πόλεμον· βέλος δὲ πᾶν τὸ βαλλόμενον Schol.—rightly in the main point, that βέλος is metaphorical not literal (τὴν δουλείαν or τὴν ἀλωσιν would have been a better interpretation). The meaning is 'let thy chastisement fall on thine enemies, not on thy friends'. *εἰς ἐχθροὺς* i.e. *μὴ εἰς φίλους*, not specially of the Argive enemy.

- ET. ὦ Ζεῦ, γυναικῶν οἶον ὅπασας γένος.  
 XO. μοχθηρόν, ὥσπερ ἄνδρας, ὦν ἀλῶ πόλις.  
 ET. παλινστομεῖς αὖθιγάνουσ' ἀγαλμάτων;  
 XO. ἀψυχία γὰρ γλῶσσαν ἀρπάξει φόβος. 245  
 ET. αἰτουμένῳ μοι κοῦφον εἰ δόλης τέλος.  
 XO. λέγοις ἂν ὡς τάχιστα, καὶ τάχ' εἴσομαι.  
 ET. σίγησον, ὦ τάλαινα, μὴ φίλους φόβει.  
 XO. σιγῶ· σὺν ἄλλοις πείσομαι τὸ μόρσιμον.  
 ET. τοῦτ' ἀντ' ἐκείνων τοῦπος αἰροῦμαι σέθεν. 250  
 καὶ πρὸς γε τούτοις, ἐκτὸς οὖσ' ἀγαλμάτων,

249. σπείσομαι corr. by m'.

251. ἐκτὸς.

242. ὅπασας created. Cf. *v.* 479. *ὁπάειν* in Aeschylus is used always to denote the *originator* or *author* of a thing; see especially *Eum.* 625 Ζεὺς *χρησὸν ὅπασε* (to Apollo) *φράξεν Ὀρέστην*, perhaps by special modification of the sense *give*. The uses of the word are however not very satisfactorily connected, and possibly more than one stem has contributed to it.

243. *Miserable, as also men, if their town be taken.* ὦν ἀλῶ πόλις qualifies both parts of the sentence.

244. *παλινστομεῖς. δυσφημεῖς* Schol. and the context certainly points to this meaning. Note however that the words are not strictly synonymous. Among the numerous compounds of *παλιν-*, there is no case of *παλιν-* for *δυσ-*. *παλιμφαιμος* indeed is cited as such, but only on the authority of Eur. *Ion* 1096 (where it has its natural sense *reversed, recanted*) and of ancient lexicographers, whose accuracy cannot be trusted. By analogy *παλινστομεῖν* should mean 'to contradict, retort': cf. *παλιμφαιμος, παλιγγλωσσος* etc., with *κακοστομεῖν, πολυστομεῖν* etc.: and probably this was the strict sense; though in relation to a religious matter to *cross* or *contradict* the prayer is much the same thing as *δυσφημεῖν*.

αὖ. In English this must be rendered not by *again* but by *now again*. It implies not that they have been guilty of τὸ

*παλινστομεῖν* before, but on the contrary, that their ill-omened speech is a new offence, a fresh instance of their perversity. Cf. Eur. *Med.* 306 σὺ δ' αὖ φοβεῖ με, *and now to thee I seem terrible*, where see the editor's note. The *παλινστομία* lies in the words ὦν ἀλῶ πόλις, and their possible application to the present moment. Translate—*And now thou blasphemest, with thy hand on the holy gods?*

245. ἀψυχία causal, *because of my faintness*; on the word see *v.* 370. ἀρπάξει *snatches, surprises*.

246. Either the sentence expresses a wish, or (better) *ἐστίν* is supplied with *κοῦφον τέλος*—*what I ask is easily given and done. τέλος accomplishment*.

247. τάχ' εἴσομαι. *I shall know anon* ('whether I can easily do it', not 'what it is'), *Anglicè* 'I will see'.—τὸτ' εἴσομαι Meineke, comparing Soph. *O. T.* 1517, but the situations are not precisely the same.

251. ἐκτὸς οὖσα: *ἐχομένη*, but with more emphasis on the passive side of the relation, *being in hold of*: for the form cf. *πιστός, μεμπτός, πλανητός* from *πελθεμαι, μέφομαι, πλανῶμαι*, and for the construction with the genitive (parallel to *ἐχέσθαι*) cf. that of *μεμπτός εἶναι* with the dative in Soph. *Trach.* 446. See also the next note.—The use of *ἐχομένη* in the schol. on *v.* 244, *δυσφημεῖς καίτοι τῶν ἀγαλμάτων ἐχομένη*, compared with the

εὔχον τὰ κρείσσω ξυμμάχους εἶναι θεούς.  
 κάμῳν ἀκούσας' εὐγμάτων, ἔπειτα σὺ  
 ὀλολυγμὸν, ἱδὼν ὃν μόνῃ, παιάνισον,  
 Ἑλληνικὸν νόμισμα θυστάδος βοῆς  
 θάρσος φίλοις λύουσα, πολέμιον φόβον.

255

254. ἱερὸν εὐμενῇ.

reference to it in the schol. on v. 250, ἀνθ' ὧν ἄλλων δυσφύμων εἰρηκας, seems to show that the annotators actually had ἐκτός.—ἐκτός, the present reading of M, has been rendered by *having quitted the images*; but ἐκτός (*out of*) has no such meaning, neither would the maidens quit the statues in order to pray.

252. τὰ κρείσσω (1) *offer thy more prevailing prayers*, 'stronger', because the virgins are lawfully in contact with the gods and under their special protection. Hence the point of ἐκτός οὗσ' ἀγαλμάτων: see next note. Or (2) *the better prayer*, that the gods will fight with us (emphasis on ξυμμάχους), not merely that they will protect us. But this distinction is rather forced.

254. *Do thou, whose sacred privilege it is, follow my prayer with the accustomed cry.* ἱδὼν ὃν μόνῃ (σολ) supplied from the emphatic σὺ: literally, *it being a thing consecrated* (set apart, reserved) *to thee alone*; for the ὀλολυγμός was a γυναικεῖος νόμος Ag. 599, belonging to women only, not to men, and therefore not to Eteocles: see *Lex. s. v.* The neuter is used because τὸ ὀλολύζειν rather than ὀλολυγμός would be the general description of the act. For σὺ in the sense of *thou*, as *woman*, cf. σὸν in v. 218. The point is the same as in v. 251, that the maidens, if they will but behave reasonably and decently, have their own proper services to render for the common cause.—ὀλολυγμὸν ἱερὸν διέστειλεν τὸν ὀλολυγμὸν τοῦ παιῶνος. ὥσπερ γὰρ μόνῃ τῇ Ἀθῆνᾳ δαίμονι ὁσση πολεμικῇ, ὀλολύζουσι (he distinguishes the ὀλολυγμός from the common paean: for to Athena only, as being exclusively goddess of war, they raise the θαῦλυγμός),

τοῖς δὲ ἄλλοις θεοῖς παιωνίζουσιν. ὁ γοῶν ποιητὴς φησιν ἐπὶ τῶν Τρωάδων, "αἱ δ' ὀλολυγὴ πᾶσαι Ἀθήνῃ χεῖρας ἀνέσχον" (Hom. Il. 6. 301), καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν Ἑλληνίδων "αἱ δ' ὀλόλυξαν θυγατέρες τε νυοὶ τε" (Od. 3. 450) Schol. This valuable note, which has no bearing on the present text of M, shows that the author read as above; his explanation is, that μόνῃ must refer to some special deity, whom, on the supposed evidence of his Homeric passages, he identified as Athena.—εὐμενῇ in M, a useless epithet, as indeed is ἱερὸν too, may be an accidental error, but is more probably a deliberate conjecture.—ἱδὼν, Dindorf. From the rhythm of Aeschylus it is likely that the pronunciation at all events was dissyllabic.

255—6. *Discharging the good Greek custom of the religious note, which cheers the friend and scares the foe.* λύουσα from λύω (Latin *solvere*) *to pay or discharge* a payment to which one is bound; see *Lex. s. v.* The metaphor, which is further carried out in νόμισμα, with its familiar suggestion of *currency, current coinage*, marks the lawful obligation of the service, which Eteocles demands, in contrast to an irregular and disorderly manner of supplication. This contrast is the theme of the whole passage. θάρσος φίλοις, see v. 167. πολέμιον the adj. in the sense of the objective genitive πολεμίων, which it is perhaps not necessary to substitute.—This explanation, joining λύουσα with the whole clause, not with φόβον only (in the sense of 'removing our fear of the enemy') is cited, though not understood, by a Schol.: πολέμιον δὲ φόβον τὴν ὀλολυγὴν ἐξηγήσατο [ἐν τῷ "λύουσα πολέμιον φόβον"]. The words



ἐγὼ δὲ χάρας τοῖς πολισσοῦχοις θεοῖς  
 πεδιονόμοις τε κἀγορᾶς ἐπισκόποις  
 Δίρκης τε πηγαῖς—οὔδατ' Ἴσμηνοῦ λέγω—  
 εὖ ξυντυχόντων καὶ πόλεως σσεφσμένης,  
 μῆλοισιν αἰμάσσοντας ἐστίας θεῶν,

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259. οὐδ' ἀπ' ἱσμηνοῦ.

in brackets are evidently not from the original author of the view, for they are contradictory to it; if *λίονσα* be joined specially with *φόβον*, *φόβον* is not=*τὴν δολογίην*. The view itself is well worth consideration, seeing the acknowledged difficulties of the common interpretation as given below, and is superior to it, both in simplicity of construction and in rhythm, a pause after the second foot being so rare that it does not occur once in the play. The received interpretation is also indicated by the schol. διὰ τῶν τοιούτων εἰχῶν λίονσα τὸν τῶν πολεμίων φόβον. The construction of *v.* 256 must then be explained either (1) by supplying from *λίονσα* by a sort of *zeugma* a participle of the opposite sense (*ποιούσα*) with *θάρος*, or (2) by taking *θάρος φίλοις* as itself equivalent to *θαρούνοσα τοὺς φίλους*. Either way the form of expression would be unnatural.

257. *πολισσοῦχοις* from *πόλις* in the narrower sense *citadel*, the *πολισσοῦχοι*, *πεδιονόμοι*, and *ἀγ. ἐπισκ.* being three classes, distinguished by place. It is possible also, but less consistent with the general use of *πολιούχος*, to give it the large sense *gods of the city*, including the other two.—For the local distribution of gods cf. *Ag.* 90, *Supp.* 1031 (Paley).

259. *οὔδατα* the Boeotian form of the classical *ὕδατα*, representing the dialectic pronunciation of the *υ* (cf. *οὔδαρ-ὕδαρ*, *σούν-σύν*, *κούμα-κύμα* (Corinna), etc. Kühner, I. § 5. 3). The local form in the local name is a picturesque touch; and that it was actually used by Aeschylus the MS scarcely leaves room to doubt; the error and the exact form of it might have been predicted.—*λέγω* marks, as usual, an ex-

planation of a term, cf. *v.* 476. Of the widely varying legends respecting the water-gods of Thebes, the simplest and probably earliest makes the chief river (*Ἴσμηνός*) parent of the smaller *Δίρκη* and *Στροφέη* (Callim. *Hym. Del.* 77), which would account for a description of the fountain Dirce as *ὕδατα Ἴσμηνοῦ*. But the language here does not imply any special relation between the streams; it is the river of Thebes as a whole, the gift of Dirce or Ismenus indifferently, which, as the context shows, is invoked as *πηγαὶ Δίρκης*. In fact *οὔδατ' Ἴσμηνοῦ λέγω* is added expressly to explain the large meaning in which *Δίρκης πηγαί* is used. So in *v.* 294 the *ὕδαρ Διρκαῖον* has the same representative sense. So also in *Soph. Ant.* 105 the Theban maidens describe the day as dawning 'over the Dircaean stream' (*Διρκαίων ὑπὲρ βέεθρων μολούσα*), i.e. over the *Ismenus*, for we may presume that the day did not dawn in the west. And generally in poetry *Διρκαῖος* signifies *Theban*, so that Virgil (*Ecl.* II. 24) can even speak of *Amphion Dircaeus*—a curiously inappropriate epithet, if referred specially to Dirce. It will be noticed that except the bare mention of 'Amphion's tomb' in *v.* 315, this play contains no allusion to the story of the wicked Dirce popularized in later and modern literature by Euripides, Ovid, and the 'Farnese' bull, nor to any of the personages in the 'Amphion' legend.—*ὕδατα τ' Ἴσμηνοῦ* (W. Dindorf) is little less close to the MS, but bad in rhythm and not consistent with the usage of *λέγω*.

261. *αἰμάσσοντας*. Regularly continued the sentence would run *ἐπέυχμαι*

ταυροκτονούντας θεοῖσιν, ὧδ' ἐπέυχομαι  
 θήσιν τροπαῖα πολέμιων δ' ἐσθήμασι  
 λάφυρα δάων δουρίπληχθ' ἀγνοῖς δόμοις  
 στέψω πρὸ ναῶν πολεμίων ἐσθήματα.  
 τοιαῦτ' ἐπέυχου μὴ φιλοστόνως θεοῖς,  
 μῆδ' ἐν ματαλοῖς κἀγρίοις ποιφύγμασιν  
 οὐ γάρ τι κἄλλων μὴ φύγῃς τὸ μόρσιμον.  
 ἐγὼ δ' ἐπανδρὰς ἔξ ἐμοὶ σὺν ἐβδόμῳ

265

265. πολεμίων δ'.

268. κἄλλων corr. to μᾶλλον.

269. ἐπ' ἀνδρας.

πολίτας θήσιν τροπαῖα, which is changed for the more vigorous personal form. ὧδε either (1) *thus*, resuming the participles and marking the transition; or much better (2) *here*, that is in the citadel and on its temples, to which he points.

263. The Scholl. note τροπαῖα as an 'anachronism', the expression (and the thing in the proper sense of 'trophies' of arms erected in the field of battle) not belonging really to the heroic age which Aeschylus describes.

263—265. ἐσθήμασιν ἐσθήματα ἀναθήσω πρὸ τῶν ναῶν τὰ λάφυρα Schol. The author of this note (1) found πολεμίων ἐσθήματα (not δ' ἐσθήματα) in *v.* 265, and (2) thought that both ἐσθήμασι and ἐσθήματα were genuine and explicable. His explanation (which I accept) is given in the word ἀναθήσω. There is a grim play, such as Aeschylus employs (see *vv.* 898, 917, 923 etc.), and here at least extremely effective, upon the two senses of ἐσθήμασι (*garments*) and ἐσθήματα *things put in or among*, from τίθημι: cf. θῆμα, ἀναθήμα etc., and note the θήσιν in the text. The Argive helmets and breastplates will be doubly πολεμίων ἐσθήματα, both as worn by them and as placed by them, according to the humour of Eteocles, in the temples and among the former trophies, some of which are no doubt visible on the stage. The dative ἐσθήμασι depends loosely upon ἐσθήματα, in a manner resembling, as the Schol. saw, such phases as φόνε φόνος *death upon death*, αἵται αἵται *woe upon woe* etc.:

δόμοις depends as possess. dative on στέψω πρὸ ναῶν. It is for the sake of this play of meanings that the panoplies are allowed to be termed ἐσθήματα, otherwise, as the Lexicon will show, a strange word for them. In common parlance a robe would be ἐσθημα, but not a breastplate.—ναῶν in the proper sense of *cella*, the inner temple or *shrine*. στέψω *I will hang* (in row), cf. *v.* 50.—δουρίπληκτα *spear-battered*. δουρίπηκτα L. Dindorf, supposing the arms to be fixed upon spears; but note στέψω.—Upon the above passage (257—265) there has been a μεγίστη προσβολή of criticism. The chief points of attack are the repetition in 263—265 and the irregularity of 261—262. The first, I submit, is necessary when rightly understood; and the second, regarded dramatically, has a more than sufficient justification.

267. ἀγρίοις *savage*, worthy of undisciplined peasants (people of the ἀγρος), not πολῖται. Cf. *vv.* 169, 255 etc.

268. κἄλλων *i.e.* καὶ ἄλλων, or as a prose writer would have said καὶ τῶν ἄλλων, 'the fate of others also' or *the general fate*: cf. *v.* 249 σὺν ἄλλοις πείσομαι τὸ μόρσιμον. This, which is said to be the original reading of M, is more to the point than μᾶλλον and less likely to have been an arbitrary correction.

269. ἐπανδρὰς aor. part. from ἐπαναδιδράσκω, *I will haste back again* etc. Eteocles now hurries to resume the preparations commenced after *v.* 78 and interrupted by the conduct of the maidens at

ἀντηρέτας ἐχθροῖσι τὸν μέγαν τρόπον  
εἰς ἐπτατειχεῖς ἐξόδους τάξω μολῶν,  
πρὶν ἀγγέλους σπερχνούς τε καὶ ταχυρρόθους  
λόγους ἰκέσθαι καὶ φλέγειν χρείας ὕπο.

270

ΧΟ. μέλει, φόβῳ δ' οὐχ ὑπνώσσει κέαρ·  
γείτονες δὲ καρδίας

στρ. α'.

275

v. 165. For the form cf. ἐπαντέλλω, ἐπανδιπλοῖω, etc.—The original author of the division and accentuation in M probably intended to lay stress on *ἀνδρας*, —‘to meet *men*’ being the duty of man (ἐγὼ) as distinguished from that of woman, which is to pray—and would join ἐπ’ *ἀνδρας* as adverb with the whole phrase ἀντηρέτας ἐχθροῖσι τάξω. This would be a possible, though forced, expression. To join ἐπὶ with τάξω or to construe it separately, with the sense ἐπιτάξω ἐχθροῖς, is impossible; ἐπ’ *ἀνδρας* μολῶν might perhaps have a meaning, but the words cannot be brought together.—ἐπάρχους Canter.

270. τὸν μέγαν τρόπον is constructed, as the rhythm indicates, with ἀντηρέτας, which by its verbal element admits an adverb; *champions to match the attack of the foe on this great scale*. The resistance must correspond with the extent of the μεγάλη προσβολή (v. 28), which is now to be made on all the gates at once.

271. *Will appoint at my return to the seven portals of our wall*. The plan of Eteocles is that which is substantially carried out in the sequel: he will select his six champions and return with them to the Acropolis, to await his scouts; in the interval he will assign the place of each. μολῶν=δεῦρο πάλιν μολῶν, as often, e.g. *Ag.* 34, 357, 1224, 1397. εἰς ἐξόδους is strictly εἰς τὸ ἐξέναι rather than εἰς πύλας.—To join μολῶν with εἰς ἐξόδους would be contrary to the intention, as shown in the sequel, and not consistent with the preposition εἰς.

272—273. The construction here is doubtful. The simplest *prima facie* is

πρὶν ἰκέσθαι ἀγγέλους τε σπερχνούς καὶ ταχυρρόθους λόγους, but those who have paid attention to Aeschylean style and rhythm will hardly approve this. Two others are better; (2) πρὶν λόγους (*news*), ἀγγέλους σπ. κ. ταχ., ἰκέσθαι κ.τ.λ. the λόγοι being personified; and (3) to make λόγους depend on the whole expression ἰκέσθαι καὶ φλέγειν (*quasi* ἰκομένους φλέγειν), which is the easier as ἰκέσθαι λόγους simply, for εἰς λόγους, would scarcely be impossible: cf. *Soph. El.* 315 εἰς λόγους τοὺς σοὺς ἰκέσθαι with *id. O. T.* 781 ὦν (i.e. ἐκεῖνων δ) ἰκόμην, ἅτιμόν με ἐξέπεμψε *dismissed me unrewarded with that for which I came*: this has the great advantage of giving a clear meaning to φλέγειν —*ere messengers, impatient and loud with haste, bring to debate the heat of urgency*. If (1) or (2) be adopted, it is difficult to say whether φλέγειν is transitive or intransitive, and what is the subject or object of it.

274. On the metres see *Appendix. μέλει*: a Schol. explains this as a formula of submission, for μέλει μοι *I heed or attend to what is said*: μέλει μοι, φησὶν, ὧν εἶπεν Ἑτεοκλῆς, ἀλλ’ ὁ ἐν ἐμοὶ φόβος οὐκ ἡρεμεῖν με ποιεῖ. A use apparently similar occurs in *Pers.* 1059 *ΞΕ.* βόα νυν ἀντίδουπα μοι. ΧΟ. μέλειν πάρεστι, δέσποτα. This explanation seems the best, and at least accounts for the adverbative *ἄ*, which is against the rendering ‘my heart is anxious *and* will not sleep’: *Rhes.* 770 μελούση καρδίᾳ λήξας θνποῦ, which is cited for this by Liddell and Scott, may have been influenced by reminiscence of this passage, but there is no very close resemblance.

μέριμναι ζωπυροῦσι τάρβος  
 τὸν ἀμφιτειχῇ λεών  
 δράκοντα δ' ὥς τις τέκνων  
 ὑπερ, δέδοικεν λεχέ-  
 ων δυσευνήτορας ἀ  
 πάντρομος πελειάς.  
 τοὶ μὲν γὰρ ποτὶ πύργους  
 πανδημὲι πανομιλεῖ

280

279. δέδοικ\* λεχέων.

280. δυσευνήτορας ἀπάν.

281. τρομος.

277. τὸν λεών objective acc. to ζωπυροῦσι τάρβος, in the sense of ἀναγκάζουσι με φοβεῖσθαι.

278. *And as one fears a snake for her young, so doth it, poor trembling dove, fear the ravishers of our bed, literally fear for our bed the ravishers.* Both τέκνων and λεχέων depend on ὑπερ: cf. *v.* 319, 407. The subject of δέδοικεν is καρδιά, *my heart*; ἡ καρδιά μου, φησί, δέδοικε τὸν πολιορκοῦντα στρατὸν ὡς δράκοντα ὑπερ τῶν νεοσσῶν πελειάς, schol. on *v.* 275. The reading of M, with the erasure filled in the most obvious way, gives a perfect sense. On the metre see *Appendix*.—Four slight variations or conjectures may be more or less clearly traced in the scholia.—(1) δέδοικ' ἐνλεχέων (τέκνων), *in the nest*: οἷον τῶν ἐν ὠρισμένῳ τόπῳ μενόντων καὶ μήπω δυναμένων ἵστασθαι, where note that the artificial explanation clearly points to a compound of ἐν-. The spelling ἐνλεχέων may represent the genitive either of ἐλλεχής or of ἐλλέχειος, both correct forms (cf. ἐντελής, ὑπώρειος): δέδοικ' may be either δέδοικα or δέδοικε. Between this and M there is nothing to choose either in MS. authority, for the letters are exactly the same, or in sense.—(2) λεχαίων Lachmann: from λεχέων (λεχαίων?). τούτῃστι, νεμομένων ἐπὶ τῆς καλιᾶς. ταύτην γὰρ λέχος εἶπεν. This however may also be referred to ἐλλεχέων; and the false form λεχαῖος (Apoll. Rhod.) is insufficiently attested.—(3) δυσευνήτωρ (?): from δυσευνήτορας δὲ δυσευνήτους (δυσευνήτωρ δὲ δυσεύνητος?), διὰ τὸν φόβον τοῦ δράκοντος.

This however is a mere error.—(4) πάντροφος: πάντροφον δὲ τὴν πελειάδα φησὶν, ὅτι πάντα τὰ θρῆα ἀπαξ τοῖ ἐτους τίκτει, ἢ δὲ περιστερὰ ἀεὶ. This variation is also cited by Tzetzes (ad Lycophr. 87) and Eustathius (ad Hom. p. 1062, 7). πάντρομος is probably a conjecture, and as such plausible. It would however be quite in the manner of Aeschylus to call the heart πάντροφος πελειάς in such a context as this with an intentional ambiguity, the actual dove being πάντροφος in relation to her young, and the heart, the metaphorical dove, also πάντροφος because, according to the language familiar in the poets, it τρέφει τὸ δέος. The English *poor brooding dove* will in that case exactly reproduce the meaning. The prefix παν- whether in πάντροφος or in πάντρομος merely emphasizes the notion following as in πάλλευκος etc.—d. All recent texts omit the article on metrical grounds, but to the disadvantage of the sense. See *Appendix*.—δράκοντας ὡς Bothe, making δράκοντας...πελειάς a single clause subordinate to γείτονες...λεών. This suggestion requires mention because it is adopted in almost all modern texts. It is, I think, not only needless but mistaken; indeed δράκοντας δυσευνήτορας cannot be translated without forcing the natural sense of εὐνήτωρ.—δυσευνήτορας Bothe.

282. τοὶ μὲν...τοὶ δὲ. Two parties of the besiegers, one scaling, the other slinging or hurling stones to clear the wall.

στείχουσιν—τί γένωμαι;—

τοὶ δ' ἐπ' ἀμφιβόλοισιν

285

λάπτουσι πολλίταις

χερμάδ' ὀκρίοεσσαν.

παντὶ τρόπῳ, Διογενεῖς

θεοί, πόλιν καὶ στρατὸν

Καδμογενῇ ῥύεσθε.

290

ποῖον δ' ἀμείψεσθε γαίας πέδον

ἀντ. α'.

τᾶσδ' ἄρειον, ἐχθροῖς

ἀφέντες τὰν βαθύχθον' αἶαν,

ὔδωρ τε Διρκαῖον, εὐ-

τραφέστατον πωμάτων

295

ῥσων ἦσιν Ποσει-

δᾶν ὁ γαῖάροχος

Τηθύος τε παῖδες;

πρὸς τὰδ', ὃ πολιοῦχοι

θεοί, τοῖσι μὲν ἔξω

300

πύργων ἀνδρολέτειραν

κατὰ ῥίψοπλον ἄταν

ἐμβαλόντες ἄροισθε

κῦδος τοῖσδε πολίταις,

291. ἀμείψασθε—ἀμείψεσθε m'.

294. εὐτρεφέστατον.

302. καταρίψοπλον.

285. ἀμφιβόλοισιν: active, 'dividing their missiles' between the scalers and the slingers, and thus contending with less effect. πάντοθεν βαλλομένοις, ἡ ἀμφοτέρωθεν Schol., taking the passive sense; but the scaling party are not βάλλοντες. In common military use the passive ἀμβολος is regular, but for this very reason the other is better in poetry.

293. τὰν demonstrative, γον. They point to it.

296. Ποσειδᾶν produces the rivers as god of the water-world or liquid element in general (τῆς ὑγρᾶς οὐσίας δεσπότης Schol.) and of things subterranean.

Τηθύος παῖδες the rivers, children of Ὠκεανός and his sister Τηθύς. Hes. Theog. 337.

300. τοῖσι μὲν answers loosely to τοῖσδε v. 304.

302. κατὰ. The preposition is adverbial and constructed with ἐμβαλόντες, quasi κατεμβαλόντες. For the metre compare v. 300 with v. 282. The final α is lengthened by ρ as usual. Note that the adjectives ἀνδρολέτειραν and ῥίψοπλον stand in slightly different relations to ἄταν, the second, an epithet, describing the more remote consequence of the panic.—'Ἀχαιοὶς ἄτην ἐμπούησατε ὥστε αὐτοὺς τὰ σπλα ῥῖψαι Schol. Paley justly remarks that αὐτοὺς is emphatic, but this scarcely warrants the inference that αὐτορίψοπλον was in the text.

304. πολίταις from our citizens, strictly akin to the instrumental, 'by means of' them. So the Schol. τούτου δὲ γενομένου πρὸς ὑμῶν πάντῃ ἂν ὑμνοῖσθε παρὰ τῶν πολιτῶν (where τούτου δὲ γενο-

καὶ πόλεως ῥύτορες

305

εὐεδροὶ τε στάθῃτ'

ὀξυγόοις λιταῖσιν.

οἰκτρὸν γὰρ πόλιν ὦδ' ὠγυγίαν

στρ. β.

'Αἶδᾶ προιάφαι δορὸς ἄγραν,

δουλίαν ψαφαρᾶ σποδῶ,

310

ὑπ' ἀνδρὸς Ἀχαιοῦ θεόθεν

περθομέναν ἀτίμως

τὰς δὲ κεξηρωμένας ἄγεσθαι,

ἐ ἔ, νέας τε καὶ παλαιὰς

ἱππηδὸν πλοκάμων, περιρ-

315

ρηγνυμένων φαρέων.

βοᾷ δ' ἐκκενουμένα πόλις,

306. τ \* .

μένου looks like an attempt to render κατὰ as if κᾶτα or εἶτα). Cf. ὠνείσθαι τινα το θυγ from, and Hom. *Il.* 4. 95 πᾶσι δὲ κεν Τρῶεσσι χάρι καὶ κῦδος ἄροιο (Blomfield).

306. εὐεδροὶ τε. "εὐεδροι στάθῃτε". συναπτέον τὸ (τῷ Wecklein) "ποῖον ἀμειψθε γαίης πέδον" Schol. Apparently an interpretation intended to avoid the inconsistency of figures (ἔδρα, ἱστασθαι) by giving ἔδρα the metaphorical sense *place of abode*, fairness of the place being the ground of the appeal for protection, as in the verse cited. But στάθῃτε is rather *stay* than *stand* (cf. *Lex. s. v.* ἱστημι B. 11.) and εὐεδροι *throned* is used merely as a constant epithet of the gods, from their attitude in representation, without regard to the particular context.

307. λιταῖσι causal dative.

308. ὠγυγίαν. Here and in Soph. *Phil.* 142 this word clearly means *very ancient*, something like our 'pre-historic'. Pindar (*Nem.* vi. 46) applies it to the hills (ὠγύγια ὄρη) of Phlius, probably indicating traces or traditions of ancient habitation. It is applied to Thebes by all the three tragedians, and by Aeschylus to the Egyptian Thebes (*Pers.* 37) under the influence of association. It

was explained of course by reference to a hero ὠγυγος (schol. here) but is probably of foreign, possibly of Phoenician, origin.

310. σποδῶ the vague poetic dative of circumstance; cf. the Latin ablative.

311. Ἀχαιοῦ θεόθεν of *Achaean religion*, who would therefore have no care to preserve the worship (τιμαί) of the gods of Thebes: literally 'Achaean by his gods', cf. πατρώθεν, μητρόθεν. As the gods of a race were the ancestors of that race (cf. *v.* 125) the analogy seems strictly appropriate.—θεόθεν is commonly taken with περθομέναν in the sense of 'sacked by the help of the gods'. But I agree with Heimsöeth (who suggests πέδοθεν) in rejecting this. It by no means follows that, because πέρθειν πόλιν θεόθεν is a possible phrase (if it is), a city could be said πέρθεσθαι θεόθεν.

313. κεξηρωμένας bereft of their protectors. κεχειρωμένας m' and edd. But the ms. gives a better point and a less common word.

317. While the city, growing empty as the captive train with divers tones of lamentation passes away, cries, 'I dread for thee a horrible fate'. λαῖς (or ληῖς) usually of things or animals captured

λαῖδος ὀλλυμένας μιζοθρόου  
 βαρείας τοι τύχας προταρβῶ.  
 κλαυτὸν δ' ἀρτιτρόποις ὠμοδρόπων,  
 νομίμων προπάροιθεν, διαμείψαι  
 δωμάτων στυγερῶν ὁδόν—  
 τί; τὸν φθίμενον γὰρ προλέγω  
 βέλτερά τῶνδε πράσσειν.  
 πολλὰ γάρ, εὔτε πτόλις δαμασθῇ,  
 εἰ ἔ, δυστυχῇ τε πράσσει.

ἀντ. β'. 320

325

320. ἀρτιτρόποις m.

322. στυγερὰν ὁδόν.

325. πόλις.

as prey; here for pathetic effect of the female captives. ὀλλυμένας in the passive sense corresponding to *lose* in the active ὀλλύναι; literally *is being lost (to her)*. See on v. 408. τοι may be strictly a pronoun (*for thee*), or may be only the particle proper to a meditation arising *naturally* from the circumstances.

320. Probably ἀρτιτρόπων ὠμοδρόποις (Ritschl), i. e. ὠμοδρόποις (passive) προπάροιθεν ἀρτιτρόπων νομίμων. ἀρτίτροπα, of the marriage-rite (νόμιμα), may signify either *seasonable* (from τροπή), or more probably *regular* (from τρόπος, manner). It may likewise apply to the maidens themselves. A Schol. takes it so, explaining ὠμοδρόπων as active (of the ravisher) and the genitive as a genitive of the agent, ὠμοδρόπων ὑπὸ τῶν ὡμῶς αὐτῶν δρεπομένων τὴν ἡβην πρὸ τῶν νομίμων γάμων: but such a genitive can only be used with a passive verb; here the preposition ὑπὸ or πρὸς would be indispensable. Neither can ὠμοδρόπων be joined with νομίμων, which is its opposite. The variation in M, and the schol., which explain both ἀρτιτρόποις and ἀρτιδρόποις, show that the confusion is ancient, and point towards the correction above cited.—If ἀρτιτρόποις ὠμοδρόπων be retained, the only possible construction of ὠμοδρόπων (active sense) is as possessive genitive depending on δωμάτων: *it is a woeful fate for maidens but just ripe (ἀρτι-τροπή) to pass the thresh-*

*old of a ravisher's detested home*, instead of that of a lawful husband. But such a complication of genitives is not probable. Paley suggests for ἀρτιτρόποις the interpretation *modest*.

321. Διαμείψαι δωμάτων στυγερὰν ὁδόν (?) *to quit their homes on a hateful journey*, lit. *to change their homes for a hateful journey*. But the construction is more peculiar and the uses of διαμείβειν and δῶμα less easy to support than might be supposed.—στυγερῶν Meineke, referring δωμάτων to the house of the captor. Cf. Eur. *Hec.* 448 τῷ δουλόσυνος πρὸς οἶκον κτηθεῖς ἀφίξομαι; If we accept this, we should certainly also read not ὁδόν but ὁδόν, *threshold*, which restores διαμείψαι to its natural meaning (*pass*) and makes an effective allusion to the passing of the bride over the threshold in the marriage ceremony.

323. τί; i. e. τί λέγω; *What shall I say?* γάρ marks the sentence as the answer to the previous question.—προλέγω. ὁ προτεθνηκώς εὐτυχῶς πράσσει Schol., taking τὸν φθίμενον...προ- for τὸν προφθίμενον. This however is scarcely possible, especially considering the rhythm: προ- signifies preference, 'I call his fate the better before (in preference to) the other'.

325. The indefinite relative with subj. and without ἄν: archaic and poetical construction. Cf. v. 243.

ἄλλος δ' ἄλλον ἄγει, φονεύ-  
 ει, τὰ δὲ πυρφορεῖ  
 καπνῷ δὲ χραίνεται πόλισμ' ἅπαν.  
 μαινόμενος δ' ἐπιπνεῖ λαοδάμας  
 μαιῶν εὐσέβειαν Ἄρης.  
 κορκορυγαὶ δ' αὖ' ἄστν,  
 ποτὶ πτόλιν δ' ὀρκάνα πυργῶτις.  
 πρὸς ἀνδρὸς δ' ἀνὴρ δορὶ κλίνεται·  
 βλαχᾶ δ' αἱματόεσσαι  
 τῶν ἐπιμαστιδίων  
 ἀρτιτρεφεῖς βρέμονται·

330

στρ. γ'.

335

## 335. βλαχαι.

327. (τὰ μὲν) φονεύει, τὰ δὲ πυρφορεῖ:  
*murdering here and burning there.*—  
 ἄλλος ἄλλον Heimsoeth.

330. *And Ares, mad with conquest of a  
 people, breathes upon fair Reverence his de-  
 filing breath.* Εὐσέβεια is a personification.  
 Otherwise the expression *μαῶν εὐσέ-  
 βειαν* would scarcely be tolerable in Greek.

333. ὀρκάνα πυργῶτις. φυλακή: gloss  
 in M. It is quite uncertain what this  
 describes. The only sense in which ὀρ-  
 κάνα is used in an extant passage is *net*,  
*snare* (Eur. *Bacch.* 611, cf. ἔρκος), and so  
 the Schol. here, ὀρκάνη τὸ θηρατικὸν δίκτυον,  
 ὃ καὶ σαργάνη καλεῖται. Photius adds the  
 sense 'surrounding wall', ὃ περιέχων τοῖχος  
 ὀκῃσιν ἢ χωρίον. λέγεται δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔρκος, ὃ  
 ἐστὶ περιβολὸν φράγμα. It has been sup-  
 posed therefore here to mean 'wall of  
 circumvallation' (Blomfield), but this is  
 out of the question, as the description  
 is of a sack not a siege.—Most of the re-  
 cent commentators propose corrections,  
 e.g. *πρὸς θ'* ὀρκάναν πυργῶτιν (the wall of  
 the city itself) Heimsoeth. But apart  
 from the unsafe argument of metre (see  
*Appendix*) we cannot prove error. The  
 very rarity of the phrase is a guarantee,  
 and it may have had many meanings not  
 now discoverable.

334. κλίνεται is laid low. Cf. *Anth.*  
*P.* VII. 493, ὑπὸ δυσμενέων δούρατι κεκ-  
 λίμεθα.—καίνεται μ'.

335. *And the young mothers blood-red  
 cry aloud at the bleating of their babes.*  
 αἱματόεσσαι. The redness may be either  
 from the natural flush or from the bleeding  
 of wounds, inflicted by the enemy in the  
 struggle, or by themselves in their des-  
 pair. The same ambiguity occurs in  
 Soph. *Ant.* 529 αἱματόεν ῥέθος, and for  
 the purpose of poetry need not be re-  
 solved. ἀρτιτρεφεῖς, literally 'just be-  
 come nurses' (the compounds of -τρεφῆς  
 are both active and passive), is substan-  
 tival, like ἀρτιτρόποις (or ὠμοδόροις) in  
*v.* 320, θαλαμηπύλων in *v.* 346. For the  
 junction with another adjective cf. *κεδνὸς  
 ἀλαοστρόφος v.* 62 etc.

337. βρέμονται, *roar*, the French *frémir*  
 or *rugir*. The word suggests, of course  
 intentionally, the picture of a wounded  
 wild animal, whose cubs are killed or  
 taken. Unfortunately our corresponding  
 English words *roar*, *bellow* have been spoilt  
 for poetical purposes.—The trivial mis-  
 accentuation βλαχαὶ in M, an ingeniously  
 simple error by which every word down  
 to the very article becomes meaningless,  
 converts the sentence into this, 'and the  
 bloody bleedings of those babes, being  
 new-suckled, roar'. The first note in the  
 schol. seems to come from a commen-  
 tator who recognised the dative singular  
 —ἐπὶ τῶν ἄσσημα φθεγγομένων νέων τὴν  
 βληχὴν ἔθηκεν.



ἀρπαγαὶ δὲ διαδρομᾶν ὁμαίμονες.  
 ξυμβολεῖ φέρων φέροντι  
 καὶ κενὸς κενὸν καλεῖ,  
 ξύννομον θέλων ἔχειν  
 οὔτε μείον οὔτ' ἴσον λελιμμένον.  
 τί \* ἐκ τῶνδ' εἰκάσαι λόγος πάρα;

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338. διαδρομᾶν.

342. λελημμένοι—λελιμμένοι *recc.*

338. ὁμαίμονες: συγγενεῖς: Ἕλληνες γὰρ πάντες—ὅσον μετὰ αἵματος γενόμεναι—ἡ τῶν ὁμαίωνων καὶ συγγενῶν (ἡ καὶ ὁμαίωνων τῶν συγγενῶν?) καὶ ἐξ ἐνὸς γένους. Schol.—Here again there is obviously some small error in M, though precisely where it is not easy to say. The meaning clearly is that the elder children, the ὁμαίμονες (brothers and sisters) of the babes and of each other, are pursued and seized as they try to escape; the whole passage 334—338 is one picture, describing the massacre of the family in successive touches.—διαδρομᾶν *m'*, perhaps rightly: and the ὁμαίμονες (we have no precisely similar word) *fall a prey to the scattering pursuit*: here διαδρομᾶν stands for the concrete τῶν διαδρόμων: for the passive sense of ἀρπαγῇ and the dependent genitive cf. *Pers.* 754 τοῦ φθάσαντος ἀρπαγῇ.—On the other hand διαδρομῇ perhaps more naturally describes the action of the fugitives than of the pursuers (cf. *v.* 174), and this supports the reading apparently indicated by the third schol. διαδρομᾶν (or διαδρόμων) ὁμαίωνων, taking ἀρπαγαὶ as active.—διαδρόμων Schütz.—The explanation of a later Schol. 'there is Plundering, sister of Pursuit', is scarcely to be entertained, in spite of Hermann's "vere poetica". It is surely alien to the style of a description like this, and wholly different from the λιγνύς .... πυρὸς κἀσὺς (*v.* 481) which is sometimes cited for it. Note also the plurals.

339—349 describe the wasteful revel which follows the massacre. Cf. *Ag.* 342.—ξυμβολεῖ *joins messes*, i.e. makes up a feast with: see the *Lex. s. vv.* συμβολή,

σύμβολος (not *meets* as in *Lex.*, συναντᾷ *m'*).—κενός: ὁ μὴ φέρων.—καλεῖ, *invites*, bids to the feast.

341. *Willing to have for partner one who is as hungry as he or hungrier.* Commonly in a συμβολή each contributor would desire to find his partner's appetite ἡ μείον ἢ ἴσον, less than his own, or at all events no greater; as he has thus the better chance of satisfying himself. Here, the provision being unlimited, the condition does not apply. The συμβολή was a common custom, and from the negative form used here, it may be conjectured that ἡ μείον ἢ ἴσον λελιμμένος ἔστω σύννομος, or something to the same effect, was a soldier's proverb.—The same meaning may *perhaps* be got from λελημμένοι, 'each willing to have the other for partner, though their appetites are neither less nor equal', an illogical but not unintelligible expression. But the change is a great gain in clearness and extremely slight.—The current explanation, that the κενά are more (neither less nor equally) hungry than the φέροντες makes the circumlocution pointless.

343. τί\*: probably τίς. *What reckoning is there to conjecture here?* ἐκ τῶνδε: ἐκ τῶν παρόντων, with a provision which will give each as much as he will. The question expresses the feeling of the spoilers and explains what precedes. Commonly the hungry partner must speculate on the amount of the provision, the appetites of the rest, and the chance that his own share would content him. Here otherwise.—τί δεῖ ἐκ τούτων ὑπονοῆσαι ἢ πένθη καὶ

παντοδαπὸς δὲ καρπὸς  
 χαμάδις πεσὼν ἀλγύνει κυρήσας  
 πικρὸν δ' ὄμμα θαλαμηπόλων  
 πολλὰ δ' ἀκριτόφυρτος  
 γᾶς δόσις οὐτιδανοῖς  
 ἐν ῥοθίοισι φορεῖται.  
 δμῳίδες δὲ καινοπήμονες νέαι,  
 τλήμονες εὐνὰν αἰχμάλωτον  
 ἀνδρὸς εὐτυχοῦντος, ὥς  
 δυσμενοῦς ὑπερτέρου  
 ἑλπίς ἐστι νύκτερον τέλος μολεῖν,

ἀντ. γ'.

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συμφορὰς; schol., which applies equally to τίς or τί. The lemma gives τί, but the lemmata cannot be trusted: on 291 the lemma as first written gives ἀμείψασθε with the MS., though the three notes all explain the correct ἀμείψεσθε.—τίνα... λόγον (Dindorf) would give the same sense.—It will be seen that the Schol. takes the question to describe the feelings of the speakers, as imaginary spectators of the scene, *What can be expected from this?*, —τοῖς Prien, Paley: = ἐκείνοις ἃ, upon conjecture of what is before them.

344. παντοδαπὸς of all soils (from all places). A Schol. might have noted an 'anachronism', for the epithet is suggested rather by the household stores of the age of commerce, than by the age 'of Eteocles'. (Note that παντοδαπὸς is not for παντοῖος, of which use there is no evidence.)

345. ἀλγύνει κυρήσας vexes when it meets, literally, 'when it meets'.—τὸν τυγχάνοντα schol., which as a supplement is correct. A prose writer would have preferred τὸν κυρήσαντα, but, as the action of κυρεῖν is necessarily mutual, the text comes to the same thing.—κυρούσας Heath.

348. ἐπειδὴ τὰ κύματα ἔσθ' ὅτε ὠφέλειαν παρέχεται ταῖς πόλεσι (διὰ γὰρ αὐτῶν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἄγεται), τροπικῶς δὲ ῥοθία εἶπεν τὰ συνεχῆ κινήματα τῶν πολεμίων, προσέθηκεν ἐπιτηδὲς τὸ οὐτιδανός, ὅλον

ἀχρεῖος Schol. The quaintness of the comparison is not unlike Aeschylus, but doubtless the ῥοθία is merely a picturesque expression for the outpoured abundance itself. The Schol. was misled by the preposition, for which cf. v. 267.

350—355. And the young slave-girls, wretched prizes of a soldier's spear, feel their woes afresh; for when the foe is master their prospect is to attend the office of the night, auxiliary of their tearful griefs.—νέαι. The position of the epithet is peculiar, but explicable if it be employed by way of contrast to καινοπήμονες. νέαν (εὐνὰν), C. G. Haupt, is simpler. εὐνὰν acc. of respect, depending on τλήμονες: εὐνὰν αἰχμαλώτων (Scaliger) would be more usual both in number and case, but the accusative is not obscure.—ὥς causal, since, explains καινοπήμονες. The δμῳίδες, as such, are already εὐνὰν αἰχμάλωτοι ἀνδρὸς εὐτυχοῦντος, having been reduced to their condition by capture; and it is this which gives to καινοπήμονες its force and pathos; in the violence of the new possessor their misery is renewed.—ἑλπίς neutral (φόβος μί, as in Ag. 1435, and see Lex. s. v. ἐλπίζω), but not without perception of the commoner meaning.—νύκτερον τέλος: the dignity of the expression, which recalls the nocturnal ritual (τέλη) of the Dionysiac and other mysteries, has a bitter irony. This explanation is due to Hermann; in the

- παγκλαύτων ἀλγέων ἐπίρροθον. 355  
 ΗΜ. ὃ τοι κατόπτῃς, ὥς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, στρατοῦ  
 πευθῶ τιν' ἡμῖν, ὦ φίλῃ, νέαν φέρει,  
 σπουδῇ διώκων πομπίμους χνόας ποδῶν.  
 ΗΜ. καὶ μὴν ἄναξ ὅδ' αὐτὸς Οἰδίου τόκος  
 εἶσ' ἀρτίκολλον ἀγγέλου λόγον μαθεῖν 360  
 σπουδῇ δὲ καὶ τοῦδ' οὐκ ἀπαρτίζει πόδα.

earlier texts, and some since, ἐλπίς begins a fresh sentence, νύκτερον τέλος being taken for *night* simply or very artificially for *death*. But the better punctuation does not require any change.—παγκλαύτων ἀλγέων ἐπίρροθον: the ambiguity is intentional and sustains the irony. On the one hand night is proverbially the reliever of suffering and in Hesiod is actually termed ἐπίρροθος, as the refreshment of the labouring slave—μακρὰ γὰρ ἐπίρροθοι εὐφροναὶ εἰσιν (Op. 560), an expression which Aeschylus probably intended to recall: on the other hand the νύκτερον τέλος in this case 'aids the grief' in the more obvious sense of increasing it. To this extent αὐξητικός, the gloss of μ', is correct.—This passage has been much and variously corrected on metrical grounds. See Appendix.

358. *Urging for haste the axles of his returning feet.* σπουδῇ causal.—διώκων suggests that he would better his speed if he could. This is to be noted for its bearing upon v. 361.—πομπίμους, *home-bringing*. Cf. Pind. *Nem.* III. 25 ὅπα πόμπιμον κατέβαινε νόστου τέλος and other passages cited on Eur. *Med.* 848. The notion of 'bringing to the journey's end' appears in most uses of this word in the poets, and gives more point here than the simple *which bear him along*.

360. *Will come 'pat' to hear the man's report.*—They judge from the distance of the two and their speed that they will arrive together. The phrase appears to come from the language of joinery: ἀρτίκολλος means by etymology *exactly glued*, from which the general notion of 'fitting

exactly' is easily derived: ἐν συναφῇ ἀρμόδιον, ἢ τὸν (τὸ ?) ἀρτίως κολλώμενον, Schol.—εἶσι 'will arrive' might be justified by *Eum.* 32 ἵκων πάλῃ λαχόντες: but probably in the trade-use *λέναι* meant that the two things joined ('went') together, so that 'will join exactly' would be the literal rendering.—ἀρτίκολλον: there seems to be an ellipse of a substantive (e.g. ἀρμόν) as in other set phrases, e.g. διανταλαν πεπληγχαῖ (πληγῇ), γιγνώσκειν τὴν νικῶσαν (γνώμην) etc.—ἀρτίκολλος Paley. εἰς ἀρτίκολλον Porson, supplying the verb (ἔστι) with ὅδε. Either form would be more normal, but in a quasi-technical phrase of this kind we cannot assume that the form was normal, and must take the tradition as we find it.

361. *And his foot, like the other's, doth disappoint his haste*—to use Elizabethan language; literally 'And his haste also is wanting (not fully supplied) in respect of foot': i.e. Eteocles, like the messenger (see on v. 358), is using his utmost speed and trying to come faster than he can.—ἀπαρτίζειν (intransitive) or ἀπηρτίσθαι means 'to be at full, to be made up to the complement' (see *Lex. s. v.*), οὐκ ἀπαρτίζειν therefore 'to be defective', or in vulgar English 'short'. It is a rare word and not 'Attic', i.e. not used in classic prose (see Phrynichus 411); and the construction with an acc. of respect does not apparently occur elsewhere, but it is according to the analogy of similar words, e.g. ἀποτελεσθαι. The use of πόδα for 'strength' or 'capability' of foot is much like that of χεῖρα for 'operation of the hand' in Eur. *Med.*

- ΑΓ. λέγοιμ' ἂν εἰδῶς εὖ τὰ τῶν ἐναντίων,  
 ὥς τ' ἐν πύλαις ἕκαστος εἴληχεν πάλον.  
 Τυδεὺς μὲν ἤδη πρὸς πύλαισι Προϊτίσιν  
 βρέμει, πόρον δ' Ἴσμηνὸν οὐκ ἔᾶ περᾶν 365  
 ὁ μάντις· οὐ γὰρ σφάγια γίγνεται καλά.  
 Τυδεὺς δὲ μαργῶν καὶ μάχης λελιμμένος  
 μεσημβριναῖς κλαγγαῖσιν ὥς δράκων βοᾷ·  
 θεῖναι δ' ὄνειδαι μάντιν Οἴκλειδην σοφὸν  
 σαίνειν μόρον τε καὶ μάχην ἀψυχία. 370

1055 χεῖρα δ' οὐ διαφθερῶ.—ἡ τούτου δὲ σπουδῇ οὕτω τέλος ἔχει ἀλλ' ἐπείγεται· τὸ γὰρ ἀπηρτισμένον καὶ τέλος ἔχει, μεθ' ὃ οὐκ ἄλλο πρακτέον Schol., which is not far from the meaning as above explained.—The rendering *regulate, make regular* has no authority.—οὐ καταρτίζει *recc.*, εὖ καταρτίζει Weil.

362. Here enter on one side of the stage the scout returned from observation of the Argives, and on the other Eteocles and the six warriors whom he has chosen with himself to command the defence at the several gates. On the arrangement of the scene and on the local allusions see the *Introduction*.

363. ἐν πύλαις literally 'in the matter of the gates'; for what gate each has drawn a lot.

366. ὁ μάντις. Amphiaraus.

367. μαργῶν. μαργᾶν and the cognate words are almost always connected as here with the notion of furious *appetite*. The idea of madness is secondary, that of craving primary. In form it is a verb 'of disease', like λημάω, of which class the desideratives (φονάω etc.) are a branch.

369. θεῖναι sustains the image of a snake—strikes, as with a sting. So θελνεῖν is used in Homer of a goad (μάστιξ, βουπηλῆς): for the application of the metaphor to taunts cf. *Eum.* 136 δλγησον ἦπαρ ἐνδίκους ὀνειδεσιν· τοῖς σῶφροσιν γὰρ ἀντίκεντρα γίγνεται.

370. ἀψυχία. This very rare word (literally *lifelessness* or *spiritlessness*) occurs in this play twice (see *v.* 245), both times

in connexion with a 'mantic' subject (δυσφημία, μάντις), and in the *Alcestis* four times. In medical language ἀψυχεῖν, ἀψυχία signified *to swoon, swooning*. See *Lex. s. vv.* From this peculiar distribution it is clear that in Aeschylus and Euripides it is not a casual synonym for *δεδία*, but is chosen for some particular reason. In the present passage it is also clear that the taunt of ἀψυχία is pointed at Amphiaraus as a μάντις, and for using religious arts to defer the fight: for the words μάντιν σοφὸν, to have any point, must be part of the taunt or at least explain its effect. Nor is it difficult to fix the point. One of the methods of divination was the *swoon* or *trance*, in which the ψυχή of the seer was supposed to depart from his body and return with reports of its visions in distant places (see Smith, *Dict. Biog. Hermetimus*, Tylor, *Anthropology* p. 345). The mockery of Tydeus turns upon this 'absence of spirit', and upon the form of the word, which makes it a sort of contrary to εὐψυχία *courage*. Note also the formal antithesis between ἀψυχία and σάλειν μόρον 'avoiding death by absence of soul'. *With a seer's cunning he shuns death and the fight at once because 'the spirit is not in him'*. The translation is necessarily inadequate, not only because the subject has no modern terms, but also from the convenient ambiguity of the dative, which is both instrumental and causal. Equally in *v.* 245 ἀψυχία should receive its full meaning; it is when 'the spirit is gone', as it were, that fear

τοιαύτ' ἀντῶν τρεῖς κατασκίους λόφους  
 σείει, κράνους χάλιτωμ', ὑπ' ἀσπίδος δ' ἐσώ†  
 χαλκήλατοι κλάζουσι κώδωνες φόβον.  
 ἔχει δ' ὑπέρφρον σῆμ' ἐπ' ἀσπίδος τόδε  
 φλέγονθ' ὑπ' ἄστροις οὐρανὸν τετυγμένον  
 λαμπρὰ δὲ πανσέληνος ἐν μέσῳ σάκει,  
 πρέσβιστον ἄστρον, νυκτὸς ὀφθαλμός, πρέπει.

375

372. δ' ἐσώ sic—γρ. τῷ μ'.

377. ἄστρον corr. to ἄστρων.

surprises the masterless tongue, and speaks by it words which are not more controlled by the terrified person than those of one in a trance—or at least so the maidens would imply by their apology.—The four passages in the *Alcestis* (642, 696, 717, 954) all describe the conduct of Pheres, Admetus' father, in refusing to die for his son. The context, which in every case refers to Admetus' denial of his sonship, e.g. καὶ μ' οὐ νομίζω παῖδα σὸν πεφυκέναι. ἡ τὰρα πάντων διαπρέπει ἀψυχία, 642, leaves no doubt in what sense (a very natural one) *lifeless* or *spiritless* is there used. Cf. Eur. *Tro.* 619, where the women of Troy have been allotted each to the λέκτρα of some Greek, Cassandra to Agamemnon, Andromache to Neoptolemus, but Polyxena to the dead Achilles, δῶρον ἀψύχῃ νεκρῷ, an expression very interesting in this connexion, as showing that Euripides knew or felt the primitive theory of female sacrifice at the tomb. And see also the use of ψυχή in Eur. *Med.* 247, where, in contrast with the license of husbands, it is said of wives, ἡμῖν δ' ἀνάγκη πρὸς μίαν ψυχὴν βλέπειν.

372. ὑπ' ἀσπίδος δ' ἐσώ sic M. That there is error here appears (1) from the obscurity of the description, (2) from the variant (it can scarcely be a conjecture) recorded by μ', (3) from ἐπ' ἀσπίδος in v. 374, needless if the shield has been already mentioned, (4) from v. 386, which indicates that the bells are attached not to the shield but to the helmet, (5) from the uncouth metre, for, if the punctuation

be allowed for, there is no caesura at all. Probably ὑπ' ἀσπίδος is a mere patch or interpretation, put in to make up a defect. I have elsewhere suggested (*Journal of the Hellen. Soc.* Vol. iv.), from a passage in the *Rhesus* (307) where this is closely imitated, that the original was πρόσδετοι δὲ τῷ, and attached thereto, i.e. to the crest or the helmet. πρόσδετος is found in *Rhes. l.c.* and the combination προσδετοιδετω would be likely to cause error.—δὲ τῷ rect.

375. φλέγοντα burning. The epithet perhaps refers to the fiery element of the heavens. Probably the colour is supposed to represent this, rather than the black of the nocturnal sky. Fire, as a symbol of terror, appears in two other emblems (vv. 420, 480).—ὑπ' ἄστροις: join with τετυγμένον, not with φλέγοντα, which would require ὑπ' ἄστρων. The οὐρανός is 'wrought as a ground to' the stars.—Or ὑπ' ἄστροις lesser stars: cf. ὑποζάκορος, ὑποκάπηλος etc., and contrast πρέσβιστον ἄστρον in v. 377. This allows the construction with φλέγοντα, supported by v. 388 and the order.

377. πρέσβιστον eldest, and therefore having precedence in dignity. For the moon as a symbol of antiquity, see the *Lex. s. v. προσέληνος*. The boast seems to mark the antiquity of Tydeus' town, the *antiqua Calydon* of Virgil (*Aen.* viii. 307). That his badge should be the moon is significant, if we remember that Calydon worshipped the goddess Artemis, having been destroyed, according to the legend, for neglect of her cult.

τοιαῦτ' ἀλύων ταῖς ὑπερκόμποις σαγαῖς  
 βοᾷ παρ' ὄχθαις ποταμίαις, μάχης ἐρῶν,  
 ἵππος χαλινῶν ὡς κατασθμαίνων μένει, 380  
 ὅστις βοήν σάλπιγγος ὀρμαίνει μένων.  
 τιν' ἀντιτάξεις τῷδε; τίς Προίτου πυλῶν,  
 κλήθρῳι λυθέντων, προστατεῖν φερέγγυος;  
 ET. κόσμον μὲν ἀνδρὸς οὔτιν' ἂν τρέσαιμ' ἐγώ,  
 οὐδ' ἐλκοποιὰ γίγνεται τὰ σήματα· 385  
 λόφοι δὲ κῶδων τ' οὐ δάκνουσ' ἄνευ δορός.  
 καὶ νύκτα ταύτην ἦν λέγεις ἐπ' ἀσπίδος

The settlement appears to have been pre-Hellenic, like that of Ephyre, with its moon-goddess, on the site of Corinth, though there is not the same reason as in the case of Ephyre for thinking it Semitic.

378. τοιαῦτ' ἀλύων or τοιαῦτα λύων. It is curious that this, the sole example of the word in Aeschylus, and all three examples in Euripides (*Orest.* 277, *Hipp.* 1182, *frag.* 668; in *Cycl.* 434 πτέρυγα σαλεύει, Musgrave, seems correct) admit either ἀλύω or λύω. Sophocles (four examples) admits only ἀλύω. That this distribution is not what we should expect if ἀλύω were the only form, may be seen by comparing similar words ἀκούω, ἀμείβω etc. In the last, out of 14 examples in Aeschylus, all but one require that the α- shall belong to the verb. Probably therefore the tragedians recognised a double form, λύω and ἀλύω, like the epic duplicates with a 'prothetic' α-. The root is λυ-: cf. *λύη frenzy*, *λύσσα*.

380. *Like a horse breathing furiously upon his bit, when he waits panting for the sound of the trumpet.* μένει causal dative 'because of his furious impulse'. Conversely in *Eum.* 654, the calmness of irresistible strength is expressed by οὐδὲν ἀσθμαίνων μένει.—ὀρμαίνει: this verb properly means to be eager or show eagerness, which will satisfy this passage; but it is coloured by special association with 'panting', which seems almost to have created a distinct secondary meaning, to judge by *Ag.* 1387 (cited by

Paley) οὕτω τὸν αὐτοῦ θυμὸν ὀρμαίνει πεσών· κάκφυσίῳ ὀξείῳ αἵματος σφαγῇ κτλ.—σάλπιγγος: used for starting chariots in the games (*Soph. El.* 711); this, rather than use in war, would occur to a Greek.—There is no reason to suspect error in these lines. The echoes of sound are thoroughly Aeschylean.

383. κλήθρων λυθέντων, *when the barrier is opened*, pursues the metaphor of the impatient horse, with a play upon the meaning 'when the gate is opened'.

385. ταῦτα παρ' Ἀλκαίου Schol. Perhaps an actual citation of a verse οὐχ ἐλκοποιὰ σήματα γίγνεται.

386. οὐ δάκνουσι *do not sting*—pursuing the comparison of Tydeus with the fabulous crested snake: cf. *v.* 367.

387. νύκτα. The accusative case belongs to the relative clause, being placed first to emphasize it as the general topic of the sentence. In the principal clause the noun is to be supplied in a different relation—ἐν ταύτῃ. This is the true analysis in all cases in which the antecedent is said to be 'attracted'. We should say *As to this 'night', therein etc.*—κυρεῖν is *found*, not superfluous or equivalent to εἶναι here or ever: the emblem, regarded as admitting an adverse interpretation, is a chance or accident; it was intended to signify otherwise. A similar thought explains the use of *τυγχάνειν ὧν* for *to be really*, when something turns out to be otherwise than was expected. See the editor's note on *Eur. Med.* 608.

ἄστροισι μαρμαίρουσαν οὐρανοῦ κυρεῖν,  
 τάχ' ἂν γένοιτο μάντις ἢ ἀνόια τινί.  
 εἰ γὰρ θανόντι νύξ ἐπ' ὀφθαλμοῖς πέσοι, 390  
 τῷ τοι φέροντι σῆμ' ὑπέρκομπον τόδε  
 γένοιτ' ἂν ὀρθῶς ἐνδίκως τ' ἐπώνυμον,  
 καὐτὸς καθ' αὐτοῦ τήνδ' ὕβριν μαντεύεται.  
 ἐγὼ δὲ Τυδεῖ κεδνὸν Ἀστακοῦ τόκον  
 τόνδ' ἀντιτάξω προστάτην πυλωμάτων, 395  
 μάλ' εὐγενῇ τε καὶ τὸν Αἰσχύνῃς θρόνον  
 τιμῶντα καὶ στυγοῦνθ' ὑπέρφρονας λόγους·  
 αἰσχυρῶν γὰρ ἀργός, μὴ κακὸς δ' εἶναι φιλεῖ.  
 σπαρτῶν δ' ἀπ' ἀνδρῶν ὧν Ἄρης ἐφέισατο  
 ῥίζωμ' ἀνείται, κάρτα δ' ἔστ' ἐγχώριος, 400

389. ἀνοιά τινι.

393. μαντεύεται m.

389. *τινί*: a certain one may find a prophecy in his folly. There is of course no real ambiguity in the reference, but this ambiguous form is common in menaces, e.g. *Supp.* 913.—*ἢ ἀνόια*. The genuineness of this reading is strongly confirmed by the significance of *μάντις-ἀνόια* as a retort to the *μάντις-ἀψυχία* of Tydeus' taunt, explained at v. 370. Tydeus will prove an involuntary prophet not by 'absence of soul' but by 'absence of wits'. These pairs of speeches are carefully antithetic.—For the metre and the form *ἀνόια* for the usual *ἀνοια*, Paley cites *Soph. frag.* 517, 5 *τερπνῶς γὰρ αἰεὶ πάντας ἢ ἀνόια τρέφει*, *Eur. Andr.* 521.—*μάντις ἢ νόια* *recc.*, *μάντις ἀνόια* Wordsworth. This however is rather a question of pronunciation.

390. The literal 'falling' of the shield, with its painted 'night', over his eyes will symbolize the darkness of death.

391. Note that *τοί* marks the words *τῷ φέροντι* as familiar. They are probably from some proverb answering to our 'Curses come home to roost'.

392. *ἐνδίκως*: truly, not justly.—*ἐπώνυμον*: see on v. 9.

393. And so this insolence of his is a prophecy against himself. *μαντεύεται*, the

original reading of M retained by *recc.* and Keck, is logical and correct: *μαντεύεται*, the correction of m, is mistaken, as the future, if used, must be taken, not very accurately, as a 'paulo-post'.

395. *τόνδε*, pointing to him.

397. Suspicious from the metre, in this play almost unknown, and not defended by the contents. Without this line the context would mean that Melanippus himself was known in the legends by some name or description importing 'one in whom sits modesty', *Αἰσχύνῃς θρόνος*. Cited as a known title, it would of course take the article. The metaphor implied in it is illustrated by *Eum.* 520 *τὸ δεινὸν ἐπίσκοπον φρενῶν καθήμενον*.

398. *For 'tis his way to shun immodest act yet be no coward either*.

399. The *Sparti* sprang from the dragon's *sown* teeth; a remnant of them, surviving their mutual slaughter, were the original Thebans.—*ρίζωμα*, nominative; *he is a plant from the root of* etc. The construction is *ἀνείται ῥίζωμα ἐκείνων, ὧν Ἄρης ἐφέισατο ἀπὸ (from among) Σπαρτῶν ἀνδρῶν*.

400. He is *ἐν-χώριος*, of the soil, in more than the common sense of *native*.

Μελάνιππος. ἔργον δ' ἐν κύβοις Ἄρης κρινεῖ  
 δίκη δ' ὁμαίων κάρτα νιν προστέλλεται  
 εἵργειν τεκούσῃ μητρὶ πολέμιον δόρυ.

ΧΟ. τὸν ἄμὸν νυν ἀντίπαλον εὐτυχεῖν στρ. α'.  
 θεοὶ δοῖεν, ὥς δικαίως πόλεως 405  
 πρόμαχος ὄρνυται τρέμω δ' αἵματη-

404. ἄμὸν corr. to ἄμὸν.

406. πρόμαχος.

401—402. Note the contrasted emphasis of *ἔργον* and *δίκη*. The prose arrangement would be *καὶ ἔργον μὲν... κρινεῖ δίκη δὲ...* 'What he will accomplish, he leaves to the chance of war; his cause at least is just'.—*δίκη δὲ* κτλ. He has a special claim to defend the land, because she is in a special sense his mother: lit. 'a right, which is indeed of his blood, puts him forward as her champion to defend etc.'—The shields of the Theban champions, like those of the Argives, bear emblems (see *v.* 497 and *passim*), illustrating, no doubt, the words applied to them. Throughout this scene it is extremely important to bear this in mind. Melanippus' blazon appears to be *Δίκη*, bearing perhaps before her a sapling (*βίβρωμα*). Compare that of Polynices, *v.* 631.—Here Melanippus leaves the stage to take his place. See on *vv.* 406—408.

404. *ἄμὸν our*. Here the plural is strictly appropriate, as also in *v.* 641. This is not always the case; but it is to be observed that *ἄμός* is not a mere synonym for *ἑμός*. There are two regular uses of it: (1), of things which are always or usually common to the speaker and others, so that the use of *our* or *my* is easy, even when the speaker is thinking for the moment only of himself. Thus in English *our house* or *my house* may be used almost indifferently. Such are *πάτηρ* (Eur. *El.* 355 and elsewhere), *πῶλος* (Eur. *Andr.* 1187), *οἶκος* (*Iph. Taur.* 149), *σύγγονος*, *τέκνον*, *λάτρης*—all elements of the community. So in *Alc.* 397 *ἄμὸν βίον* *our life* is the life of the household.

In Eur. *El.* *l.c.* the accidental use of *our* has a special point; it is, though the speaker does not know it, strictly appropriate, the person addressed being her brother. (2) Both *our* and *we* are used by a single speaker for *dignity*, as by Athena in *Eum.* 443 *ἐστίας ἁμῆς*. For parallel uses of *ἡμέτερος* see (1) *Soph. El.* 116 *τίσασθε φόνον πατρὸς ἡμετέρου* (*Electra* to the *Eumenides*), Eur. *Iph. A.* 554 *ἀπεννέπω Ἑρωτά ἡμετέρων θαλάμων* (cf. *ἁμός οἶκος*), Pind. *Pylh.* IV. 110 *ἡμετέρων τοκέων*, and (2) *ἡμέτερος* (and *ἁμός*) frequently in Pindar, when speaking as poet and priest of the Muse, *Ol.* XI. 3, 8, *Pylh.* III. 65, *Nem.* III. 1 etc. Whether *our* is ever used as a mere variation for *my* is doubtful. The most remarkable case is *Iph. T.* 1139 *ἐν νῶτοις ἁμοῖς πτέρυγας λήξαιμι θοάξουσα*, where however the reading is uncertain. It is worth notice that though *ἁμός* (the masculine) occurs frequently in dialogue, the Ionic inflexions in *-η* seem to be naturally avoided: *ἐστίας ἁμῆς* above cited is an exception.—The mss. (and modern texts) vary between *ἁμός* and *ἁμός*. In the quasi-Doric of the Athenian poets probability favours the aspirate. The true Doric is *ἁμός*.

405. *ὥς as*, connect closely with *δικαίως*; 'may he prosper as his cause is just'.

406—408. *i.e.* *τρέμω ὑπὲρ φίλων δλομένων*, *ιδέσθαι αἱματηφόρους μύρους αὐτῶν*.

*But, when one I love passes away, I tremble to see his bloody corse borne home, or to see him carried, a bloody corse: literally 'I tremble for them when gone, to see etc.', the words ιδέσθαι κτλ. explaining τρέμω ὑπὲρ φίλων.—δλομένων.* For this



φόρους· μόρους ὑπὲρ φίλων  
 ὀλομένων ιδέσθαι.

ΑΓ. τούτῳ μὲν οὕτως εὐτυχεῖν δοῖεν θεοί.

sense of ὀλλυθῆναι, ὀλέσθαι, *to be lost (to view), pass away (out of sight)*, cf. v. 318 λαῖσος ὀλλυμένης and a more clear example in *Supp.* 787 μέλας γενομένην καπνὸς νέφεσι γειτονῶν Διὸς, τὸ πᾶν δ' ἄφαντος... ἀτρεθε πτερύγων ὀλοῖμαν. In the last Dindorf substitutes ὀλοῖμαν, and here also ὀρομένων is possible; but it is scarcely probable that an error so peculiar should occur twice, and the three examples defend each other. If ὀλομένων be taken in the sense of *dead*, τρέμω ὑπὲρ φίλων ὀλομένων has no meaning; there cannot be fear for one who is dead. It is however possible to separate ὀλομένων from φίλων and join it as possessive genitive with μόρους—the *corpses of them dead*. But the order of words is strongly against this.—The plural φίλων is general and represents the English indefinite article.—αἱματηφόρους μόρους *his bloody corpse borne (home)*. μόρος, like the Latin *funus*, which was probably applied to translate it, means not only *death*, but also *corpse* and *funeral*. For examples of the meaning *corpse* in later poetry, see the *Lex. s. v.* *A priori* it is not likely to have been an arbitrary Alexandrian invention, and as a fact it occurs in the tragedians several times. It is clear in *Soph. Ant.* 1266 ὡ παῖ νέος νέψ ξὺν μόρῳ ἀπέθανες, where the νέος μόρος is the corpse of the young Antigone upon which Haemon slew himself, and in *Cho.* 295 κακῶς ταριχευθέντα παμφάρτῳ μόρῳ, literally 'ill-mutilated in a perishing corpse'. So in *Ag.* 1245 Ἀγαμέμνονός σέ φημι ἐπόψεσθαι μόρον it is not the death of Agamemnon which the Chorus are to see or do see, but Agamemnon dead. In *Cho.* 443 λέγεις πατρῶν μόρον the context proves that μόρον means the *corpse* (or *funeral*), not the death, and this explains *ib.* 440 μόρον κτίσαι μωμένα ἀφερκτὸν (so the MS. rightly) αἰῶνι σῶψ,

(*she mutilated thy murdered father*) *wishing to put a bar between the corpse and thy life*: the object of the mutilation was not mere insult, but, according to the common notion of savages, to prevent the dead man from coming back to the aid of his avenger. Cf. also *Cho.* 8—9, *Ag.* 338, 341 ἀμφὶ σώμασιν πεπτωκότες..... ἀπομώζουσι φιλιτᾶτων μόρον, *Soph. Ai.* 1059 θανόντες ἂν προκείμεθ' αἰσχίστῳ μόρῳ, where αἰσχίστος μόρος is the exposure of the corpse. By this use we should perhaps restore and explain *Cho.* 926 ΚΑ. ἔοικα θρηνεῖν ζῶσα πρὸς τύμβον μάτην. ΟΡ. πατὴρ γὰρ αἶσα τόνδε πωρίζει μόρον (MS. πορίζει). 'I cry in vain as to a thing stone-dead. Yea, for a father's fate makes it thus dead and hard'. Cf. πῶρος, πωρόψ, and note the correspondence between τύμβον and μόρον. Here the meaning ('carrying of the corpse') is shown both by the context, for the speakers cannot expect to see the 'death', and by the epithet. αἱματήφορος could not mean simply 'bloody' (*Lex.*) and is not a possible epithet of death. The first part of the compound is αἶμα or αἵματα 'a bleeding thing', 'bleeding corpse', which sense, as well as the meaning of -φορος, is precisely illustrated by *Eur. Phoen.* 1503 τρίσσα φέρουσα τὰδ' αἵματα σύγγονα (Antigone with corpses of Jocasta and her sons). Thus the adj. repeats the two ideas combined in μόρος, and is a compound of the same type as ἀνδρόπαις (ἀνὴρ) in v. 520.—The correct meaning of μόρους is indicated by a note in the schol. οὓς ποιοῦνται ὑπὲρ τῶν φίλων πολιτῶν οἱ Θηβαῖοι—ἡ ὑπὲρ δὲ περισσῇ. He joins ὑπὲρ φίλων ὀλομένων with μόρους, *funerals made for dear ones dead*. This also is worth consideration.

409. The soldier ignores the last words, and with a somewhat dry 'Amen' continues his report.

Καπανεὺς δ' ἐπ' Ἡλέκτραισιν εἵληχεν πύλαις, 410  
 γίγας δδ' ἄλλος τοῦ πάρος λελεγμένου  
 μεΐζων ὁ κόμπος δ' οὐ κατ' ἄνθρωπον φρονεῖ,  
 πύργοις δ' ἀπειλεῖ δειν', ἃ μὴ κραίνοι τύχη'  
 θεοῦ τε γὰρ θέλοντος ἐκπέρσειν πόλιν  
 καὶ μὴ θέλοντος φησὶν, οὐδὲ τὴν Διὸς 415  
 ἔριν †πέδω σκήψασαν ἐμποδὼν σχεθεῖν.  
 τὰς δ' ἀστραπάς τε καὶ κεραυνίους βολὰς  
 μεσημβρινοῖσιν θάλπεσιν προσήκασεν.  
 ἔχει δὲ σῆμα γυμνὸν ἄνδρα πυρφόρον,  
 φλέγει δὲ λαμπὰς διὰ χερῶν ὥπλισμένην 420

416. σχεθεῖν.

410. ἐπ'...εἵληχεν *hath drawn (his lot) for*.

411. γίγας δδ' ἄλλος *a giant this one*, not 'another giant'. For ἄλλος as here used there is no English equivalent: it merely emphasizes the idea of distinction and opposition. See the *Lex. s. v.* —τοῦ...μεΐζων, an ironical compliment, as one of the Scholl. saw, to the stature of Capaneus, Tydeus being μικρὸς δέμας (Hom. *Il.* 5. 801).

412—13. Note the emphasis on πύργοις: the antithesis is between οὐ κατ' ἄνθρωπον and πύργοις δεινὰ. Capaneus' boast is such as befits a giant (Eur. *Phoen.* 1131) and no man, for towers are the enemy whom he threatens with danger.

415—16. That there is some error here is certain for three reasons, (1) the omission of the object, *e.g.* νιν, to σχεθεῖν, (2) the omission of ἄν, though the tense required is the conditional future, (3) the name Ἔριν, *Discord*, an inappropriate personage and not properly described as τὴν Διὸς. The first might possibly pass; the second also is disputed, though the instances cited (*e.g.* *P. V.* 624) are too few and doubtful to establish the contrary; some (*e.g.* *Soph. Ai.* 1063) are irrelevant, the tense not being future at all, but general or 'gnomic' (English present), describing what does happen, not what will. The question need not, however,

be here discussed, for the third objection is fatal and the combination of the three at any rate incredible. Moreover the close imitation in Eur. *Phoen.* 1175 gives evidence for the presence of νιν and ἄν here, Καπανεὺς...ἐκόμψασε μηδ' ἄν τὸ σεμνὸν πῦρ νιν εἰργάθειν Διὸς (Weil).—I conjecture that the passage originally stood thus—

πέδω  
 ΕΡΑΙΝΙΝΑΝΣΚΗΨΑΔΑΝ

*i.e.* ἐραὶ νιν ἄν σκήψασαν κτλ. where πέδω is a correct interpretation of the old locative ἐραὶ *on the earth*, related to ἐράζε as χαμαὶ to χαμᾶζε. The error arose partly from the gloss, partly from the repetition of similar syllables, partly from a misunderstanding of τὴν Διὸς, *the daughter of Zeus*, *i.e.* Athena, who, as specially charged with his thunders (*Eum.* 833), is a personage suited to the conception. Translate *and that not even Zeus' daughter would stop him, were she to light down upon the earth in his path: her lightning and thunderous bolts etc.* —πέδω Dindorf—οὐδὲ νιν Διὸς κεραυνὸν ἐνσκήψαντ' ἄν ἐμποδὼν σχεθεῖν Wecklein (in his *Appendix*, where see other suggestions).

419. γυμνὸν *without armour*, as one to whom defences are unnecessary.

420. διὰ *between*, a poetical variation for *in*.—ὥπλισμένη *armed, prepared, i.e.*

χρυσοῖς δὲ φωνεῖ γράμμασιν' πρήσω πόλιν.  
 τοῖδ' ὦδε φωτὶ πέμπε—τίς ξυστήσεται;  
 τίς ἄνδρα κομπάσαντα μὴ τρέσας μενεῖ;  
 ΕΤ. καὶ τῷδε κέρδει κέρδος ἄλλο τίκτεται.  
 τῶν τοι ματαίων ἀνδράσιν φρονημάτων  
 ἢ γλώσσ' ἀληθὴς γίγνεται κατήγορος.  
 Καπανεύς δ' ἀπειλεῖ δρᾶν παρεσκευασμένος,  
 θεοὺς ἀτίζων, κάπογυμνάζων στόμα  
 χαρᾷ ματαίᾳ θνητὸς ὦν ἐς οὐρανὸν

425

423. κομπάζοντα m'.

lighted, 'ready for use' (*Lex.*); or perhaps borne as a weapon (*δπλισμα*, ἀνθ' ὅπλου οὔσα Schol. The first accords best with the ordinary use of the word; the second is perhaps somewhat supported by the reminiscence of Euripides *θύρσοις διὰ χερῶν ὠπλισμένοι* (*Bacch.* 732).

423. *ἄνδρα κομπάσαντα* the man with the brag, i.e. the figure (v. 419) and motto of the shield. The boast being expressed by the letters once for all, the aor. κομπάσαντα is correct and necessary.—κομπάζοντα, the correction of m' adopted in most texts, proceeds upon the error of referring *ἄνδρα* to Capaneus, and spoils the point of the line. The same error complicates the difficulty of the next line, by making it necessary to refer τῷδε also to Capaneus himself.—μὴ τρέσας = ὥστε μὴ τρέσαι.

424. Literally, hereby also is produced fresh gain upon gain; apparently a popular and proverbial expression signifying 'Better and better'. The point plainly is that in the case of Capaneus, as, or more than, in that of Tydeus, the enemy's boast must recoil on himself (Blomfield). For the dative κέρδει depending on the notion of addition in ἄλλο τίκτεται cf. Soph. *O. T.* 175 ἄλλον ἢ ἄλλῳ προσίδους and Jebb's note there. For τίκτεται as a commercial metaphor cf. *τόκος*. Others interpret κέρδει desire of gain (see *Lex.* s. v.) and ἄλλο κέρδος as equivalent to ἕτερον κέρδος a gain

different from that intended, so that the sense is 'greed over-reaches itself'.—τῷδε by this, i.e. by the emblem of Capaneus as by that of Tydeus.—κᾶν τῷδε Hartung.

425. *ἀνδράσιν*, here in sense of *brotois*, and opposed to *θεοῖς*, v. 428, as γλώσσα is contrasted with δρᾶν παρεσκευασμένος. We know (τοι) that among men the tongue proves true accuser of a foolish pride; how much more does Capaneus expose his folly, who insults the gods by acting his insolent intention!—There seems no reason, if the contrasts be noted, to suspect any fault in these lines. Καπανεύς δ' ἀτίζων κάπογυμνάζων στόμα Wecklein.

427. *ἀπογυμνάζων στόμα*, a metaphor from the *gymnasium*, cf. γυμνάζειν and ἀποπειρᾶσθαι. γυμνάζειν is to practise or exercise the hand, for example, in casting the javelin or quoit. So Capaneus is ironically said to task his mouth to the extravagant feat of hurling his impieties to the sky.

429. χαρᾷ ματαίᾳ, 'in a vain mockery', or, as the association with στόμα here suggests, 'with ineffectual grin'. The fundamental meaning of the root χαρ-, as developed in Greek, is not joy but mirth, laughter, mockery, and the analogy of καρ-χαρ-όδους (epithet of the dog) and χάροψ (as to which see below) indicates that χαίρω, like παίρω, though with a very different shade of meaning,

πέμπει γεγωνά Ζηνὶ κυμαίνοντ' ἔπη.  
πέποιθα δ' αὐτῷ ξὺν δίκη τὸν πυρφόρον

430

430. γεγωνά.

431. πυρφόρον.

signified originally 'to show the teeth or open mouth'. *χαρά mirth or mockery* has several extant examples; see especially *κέρτος χαρά jesting mockery, Alc. 1128* (mistranslated 'delusive joy' in L. and Sc.); and cf. Eur. *El.* 879 *ξύνανλος βοά χαρᾶ*, where *laughter* not *joy* is required to satisfy the notion of sound, *Iph. T.* 832. So also *γεραροῖς ἐπὶ χαρτον* (*Ag.* 723) of the playful pet which 'makes seniors laugh'. Still nearer to the primitive sense are the present passage and Aesch. *frag.* 251, a description of the Harpies snatching away the food of Phineus, *καὶ ψευδόειπνα πολλὰ μαργώσης γνάθου ἐρρυσίζον στόματος ἐν πρώτῃ χαρᾷ* i.e. 'just as his mouth opened upon them'.—As to *χάροψ*, Theocritus, who applies it to Athena, proves for the Alexandrians the modern interpretation 'bright-eyed' from the notion of 'gladness'; but if they attributed this sense to the old poets, it was apparently one of their many mistakes. In the old writers the word belongs apparently to animals of the cat (lion), dog, and monkey tribes. The common mark of these animals is not the eye, which in the dog and monkey is not even conspicuous, but the grinning mouth; which strengthens the argument from etymology that the true meaning of *χάροψ* was 'grin-faced'. If, as some think, *gierig* belongs to the same root as *χαίρω*, the German stock as well as the Greek exhibits a specialization of sense connected with the mouth, and well illustrates the fragment of Aeschylus above cited.

430. *γεγωνά* Brunck, *γεγωνῶ m.*—*κυμαίνοντ' ἔπη*, *boasts* (so *ἔπη* often) *like waves*. A figure from the waves caused in water by a disturbance, and finely suggesting the contemptible disproportion between the mortal and the dome

of heaven into which he shouts.

431. *ξὺν δίκη*, *if justice will*, a phrase of religious apology, like *ξὺν θεοῖς*, qualifying the temerity of *πέποιθα*.—*αὐτῷ*, to be joined with *πέποιθα*. Note that this word is emphatic both here and in v. 434. It has been already observed, that except with emphasis *αὐτός* in Aeschylus is exceedingly rare. Here the emphasis is all-important to the sense. Capaneus according to the legend was actually slain by a thunderbolt in the assault (Eur. *Phoen.* 1181). The point of vv. 430—434 is that so impious a boaster might confidently be left to the vengeance of heaven, though for superabundant caution (there is something of Eteocles in this) he shall have a human opponent (*ἄνθρωπος*, see on v. 425) also. *αὐτῷ* may be either masculine or neuter. If masculine, we may understand either (1) *τῷ Διὶ*, or (2) *τῷ Καπανεῖ*, *I rely on the man himself, that the thunderbolt will come*, meaning 'his behaviour is enough to call it'. If neuter, which I think better Greek, *αὐτό* *the thing itself* refers to the whole preceding description, and the meaning is 'I take assurance from the very facts'. A prose-writer would have said *αὐτῷ τούτῳ*, the absolute use being confined in prose to the nominative, as in *αὐτὸ δηλοῖ it is clear of itself*.—The use of *ἐπ'* *αὐτῷ* (v. 434) is precisely like that in v. 607, *δοκῶ μὲν οὖν σφε μὴδὲ προσβαλεῖν πύλαις...δωμῶ δ' ἐπ' αὐτῷ κτλ.*, where see note. It is literally 'on the top of that itself', or more simply *over and above that*, *ἐπὶ* having the same sense as in *τρίτος ἐπὶ δέκα*, *δτην ἐπ' δτη* etc.—That *ἐπ'* *αὐτῷ* does not mean *against him* may be proved, apart from the question of emphasis, by the considerations, (1) that *ἐπ' αὐτῷ τέτακται* could only mean 'is appointed *over* him', or 'ranged *behind*

ἤξειν κεραυνόν, οὐδὲν ἐξηκασμένον  
 [μεσημβρινοῖσιν θάλπεσιν τοῖς ἡλίου]  
 ἀνὴρ δ' ἐπ' αὐτῷ, κεί στόμαργός ἐστ' ἄγαν,  
 αἰθων τέτακται λῆμα, Πολυφόντου βία,  
 φερέγγυον φρούρημα προστατηρίας  
 Ἀρτέμιδος εὐνοίαισι σὺν τ' ἄλλοις θεοῖς.  
 λέγ' ἄλλον ἄλλαις ἐν πύλαις εἰληχότα.

435

ΧΟ. ὅλοιθ' ὅς πόλει μεγάλ' ἐπέυχεται,  
 κεραυνοῦ δέ μιν βέλος ἐπισχέθου,

ἀντ. α'.

440

him', not 'against him', which is ὠπι-  
 τέτακται αὐτῷ (see *Lex. s. v. ἐπιτάσσω*);  
 (2) that the occurrence of ἐπ' αὐτῷ here  
 and in *v.* 607 only among the seven  
 parallel passages, taken with the close  
 logical resemblance of these two, is itself  
 strong evidence of a sense common to  
 these two and peculiar to them.—τὸν  
 πυρφόρον in answer to the πυρφόρος of  
 the shield (*v.* 419).

432. οὐδὲν ἐξηκασμένον *no counter-*  
*feit*, like the painted threats of Capaneus,  
 but real; cf. *Ag.* 1243 κλύοντ' ἀληθῶς  
 οὐδὲν ἐξηκασμένα.—This rendering, though  
 recommended by the context and the  
 quotation, is impossible, if 433 be ge-  
 nuine. But probably this poor verse  
 (*v.* 418 with the lame addition τοῖς ἡλίου)  
 has itself arisen from an erroneous belief  
 that οὐδὲν ἐξηκασμένον required further  
 explanation.

434. στόμαργος (cf. 428) *prater*. The  
 word is weak after the description of  
 Capaneus, but is used for contempt; un-  
 less indeed, as the grammar equally  
 allows, it is an apology for a trait in the  
 character of Polyphontes as known in  
 Theban legend.

435. αἰθων λῆμα, cf. αἰθων ὕβριστής  
*At.* 1088, ἀνὴρ αἰθων (of the mad Aias),  
*ib.* 222. This obscure word is fixed  
 in literature as a general epithet (*wild*,  
*fierce?*) of animals (see *Lex.*) and shows  
 in this little trace of its connexion, if  
 it was so connected, with the idea of fire.  
 In Polyphontes (note the murderous  
 name) there is a *ferocity* which marks

him as a fit opponent for the monster  
 (γίγας) Capaneus.—τέτακται φρούρημα,  
*is appointed defender.*

436. φερέγγυον: join with the causal  
 dative εὐνοίαισι.

437. προστατηρίας Ἀρτέμιδος. The  
 προστατήριαι were statues of patron  
 deities placed before the door of a house,  
 as that of Phoebus in *Soph. El.* 637, and  
 those of Artemis and Aphrodite in the  
 opening scene of the *Hippolytus*. Here  
 Artemis, patroness of Polyphontes (as a  
 hunter?), and probably represented in  
 his blazon, is expected to prove προ-  
 στατηρία in a larger sense, as *champion*  
 (προστάτης) of the town.—The Scholl.  
 offer two explanations, (1) that Poly-  
 phontes was priest of Artemis, (2) that  
 Thebes was specially sacred to that deity.  
 The text does not imply either, and the  
 second is probably only so far true, that  
 Artemis (see *v.* 138) was one of the  
 πολιοῦχοι θεοὶ represented on the stage.—  
 σὺν with the help of.—σὺν τ' ἄλλων θεῶν,  
*and of other gods as well, rec. and Heim-*  
*soeth, with great probability.*

438. ἄλλαις εἰληχότα, a very doubt-  
 ful construction. For ἐν πύλαις *in the*  
*(allotting of the) gates* see *v.* 363.—ἄλλας  
 (πύλας) ἐν πύλαις εἰληχότα would be  
 more clear, if not more correct.—Exit  
 Polyphontes.

440. μιν sic M. νιν Brunck, accord-  
 ing to the common use of the tragedians.  
 But it is impossible to prove that the  
 form μιν was never used by them, and  
 many good literary reasons might com-

πρὶν ἐμὸν ἐσθορεῖν δόμον πωλικῶν θ'  
 ἔδωλίων ὑπερκόπῃ  
 δορί ποτ' ἐκλαπάξει.

ΑΓ. [καὶ μὴν τὸν ἐντεῦθεν λαχόντα πρὸς πύλαις]

λέξω. τρίτῃ γὰρ Ἑτερόκλῳ τρίτος πάλος 445

ἐξ ὑπτίου ἤδησεν εὐχάλκου κράνους,  
 πύλαισι Νηίστησι προσβαλεῖν λόχον.

ἵππους δ' ἐν ἀμπυκτῆρσιν ἐμβριμωμένας  
 δινεῖ, θελούσας πρὸς πύλαις πεπτωκένας·

φιμοὶ δὲ συρίζουσι βάρβαρον τρόπον, 450

442. ὑπερκόμῳ.

mend it in a particular place. That it is unusual is a strong reason for supposing it genuine.

442. ἔδωλίων an equivalent for θαλάμων, suggested perhaps by the common application of both words to a ship (see *Lex.*). The genitive depends upon ὑπερκόπῃ, as on ὑπέρ itself or on comparatives and other words implying superiority, such as κρατεῖν, νικᾶν etc. The object of ἐκλαπάξει is δόμον; and *rage it with spear triumphant over its virgin bowers*. ἐκλαπάξει could not be followed by the genitive, either with or without the pronoun με.—ὑπερκόμῳ *Anonymus*, perhaps rightly, as the words seem to be elsewhere interchanged (see *Dindorf Lex. Aesch. s. vv.*). There is however no real proof against ὑπερκόμῳ except the doubtful one from metrical theory.

444. Almost all the examples in Aeschylus of a line without caesura are open to suspicion on independent grounds; and such a license is specially improbable in the strict versification of this play. This verse (omitted by H. Wolf) is unnecessary and injurious, λέξω being better explained by the λέγε of 438, to which it replies, and inattention to this accounts for the insertion. It is also ungrammatical.

447. Νηίστησι. There is no reason for changing this form, which is a touch from the Epic narrative, either for the

Attic Νηίσταισι, or (as Geel) for the Boeotian Νηίταισι. Such matters are governed entirely by literary convention or the caprice of the writer, and to introduce system is to spoil the living work.—νηίτησι m'.

448. ἐμβριμωμένας. There is no classical evidence that βριμάομαι signified 'to snort' as is sometimes assumed, and it is improbable that it was connected with βρέμω. βρι-μύ, according to Hesychius, is 'an expression of anger'; the root seems to be that of βριθύς, βρίθειν, Βριμύ, Βριάρεως, and the transition to the idea of anger is illustrated by βαρύς in βαρύθυμος ὀργή, ὀργή βαρεῖα etc. Here the primitive idea of weight or force is perceptible, the full sense being *straining indignantly against*.—ἀμπυκτῆρσιν *head-bands*, not 'bridles' as L. and Sc., a sense invented to fit the mis-translation of ἐμβριμωμένας.

449. πρὸς πύλαις πεπτωκένας: πρὸς ...πεπτωκένας is the intransitive phrase answering to the transitive προσβαλεῖν in v. 447—to dash against.

450. The head-gear was so made that the breathing of the horses produced a scream or whistle. βάρβαρον τρόπον, *after an outlandish fashion*, is a touch of contempt for the noisy instruments of savage war, which reflects rather the feeling of Aeschylus' own time than of the real 'heroic' age.—ἀπηνῇ ἤχον Schol.

μυκτηροκόμποις πνεύμασιν πληρούμενοι.  
 σεσημάτισται δ' ἀσπίς οὐ μικρὸν τρόπον  
 ἀνὴρ δ' ὀπλίτης κλίμακος προσαμβάσει  
 στείχει πρὸς ἐχθρῶν πύργον, ἐκπέρσαι θέλων  
 βοᾷ δὲ χούτος γραμμάτων ἐν ξυλλαβαῖς,  
 ὡς οὐδ' ἂν Ἄρης σφ' ἐκβάλοι πυργωμάτων.  
 καὶ τῷδε φωτὶ πέμπε τὸν φερέγγυον  
 πόλεως ἀπείργειν τήσδε δούλιον ζυγόν.

455

ET. πέμποιμ' ἂν—ἤδη τόνδε, σὺν τύχῃ δέ τῳ

452. εἰσημάτιστα.

452. *σεσημάτισται* is *figured*. The correction of Weil is preferable to that of the hand *m'* (ἐσχημάτισται), both technically and from the regular use of *σημα* throughout this passage, *vv.* 374, 385, 419, 478, 505, 578, 630.—οὐ μικρὸν *τρόπον* in no small fashion *i.e.* according to a proud conception, cf. *v.* 270, τὸν μέγαν τρόπον. The 'largeness' of the device is referred by a Schol. to its generality, as if it would say 'no tower can withstand me': στείχει πρὸς ἐχθρῶν πύργον οὐκ εἶπεν πρὸς ποῖον πύργον. *μεγάλως οὖν φησὶ πρὸς πάντα πύργον*: but this somewhat forced explanation ignores the motto.—The recurrence of *τρόπον* in 450 and 452 has suggested corrections *βρόμον* (Schütz) or *νόμον* (Prien) there, and *τύπον* (Halm) or *τροχόν* (Keck) here. But in each *τρόπον* is better: *τύπον* and *τροχόν* indeed give senses positively wrong; it is not the figure on the shield which is 'big' but the style or idea of the figure. The repetition itself may have a certain force, and at worst is a slight defect.

453. *δὲ*: omitted by Blomfield and others, but right according to the habit of Greek. It marks an antithesis to the negative *οὐ*. The device is *not* humble, *but* proud as the description shows: cf. *vv.* 412, 413.—προσαμβάσεις accusative 'cognate' to στείχει, *is mounting a ladder step above step*.

455. καὶ οὗτος cf. 421.—γραμματῶν ἐν ξυλλαβαῖς by combinations of figures.

The soldier speaks as one to whom the art of writing language is not so familiar as to be unnoticeable. It is to be remembered that *γράμμα* does not necessarily mean a letter (see on *v.* 647), though of course the 'figures' here are letters. This again is probably a touch from the Epos.

458. ἀπείργειν with φερέγγυον one who bears warrant that he can save *etc.*

459. From all the expressions here, from *ἤδη τόνδε*, which marks that the choice is ready and obvious, and from *σὺν τύχῃ τῷ* with a certain happiness or good fortune in the choice, it is plain that the selection is suggested by some patent fact. The same thing is conveyed still more strongly by the pluperfect *ἐπέπεμπε*, and indeed he was already sent, which implies, according to the regular use of the tense, that the choice may be said to have made itself, the fitness of the person being patent *a priori*. And further, as the position of the words *οὐ κόμπον ἐν χερσὶν ἔχων*, bearing in his hands no idle brag, shows that here lies the explanation of *ἐπέπεμπε*, we can scarcely be wrong in supposing that the reference is to the blazon upon his shield, which by an 'undesigned coincidence' represents *Ares*, the very god insulted by his opponent's impious emblem (*v.* 456). That Megareus might well bear this device 'not as an idle brag' is shown by his pedigree, the

καὶ δὴ 'πεπεμπτ' οὐ κόμπου ἐν χεροῖν ἔχων, 460  
 Μεγαρέυς, Κρέοντος σπέρμα, τοῦ Σπαρτοῦ γένους·  
 ὃς οὔτι μάργων ἵππικῶν φρυαγμάτων  
 βρόμον φοβηθεὶς ἐκ πυλῶν χωρήσεται,  
 ἀλλ' ἡ θανὼν τροφεία πληρώσει χθονί,  
 ἡ καὶ δὴ ἄνδρε καὶ πόλισμ' ἐπ' ἀσπίδος 465  
 ἐλὼν λαφύροις δῶμα κοσμήσει πατρός.

stock of the Σπαρτοὶ having sprung from the seed ὧν Ἀρης ἐφέλατο (v. 399) and being therefore entitled to claim his patronage. For a similar τύχη in the opposition of blazons see *inf. vv.* 495—507, where note especially τυχῶν in the last line.—The later copies, misled by the omission of the mark of elision before 'πεπεμπτ', change πεπεμπτ' οὐ into πέπεμπται, and are followed by all modern editions. As however the text so produced is scarcely intelligible, it is further supposed by most commentators that the passage is defective, and it is argued, in support of this, that the speech wants 6 lines of the 15 assumed to be normal. But as to this assumption see the *Introduction*. In itself, the unusual brevity of the speech is, upon the present explanation, natural enough. The choice is palpably right and needs the fewer words. Hence also the gay and taunting tone of the conclusion, v. 467. There seems to be no reason for doubting the correctness of the ms.—With regard to the 'epic' form πέπεμπτο without augment, it is not perhaps absolutely certain that Aeschylus would have excluded it; but in any case there is no question here of ms. evidence, as in uncials the augmented and unaugmented form would be undistinguishable. In cursives the sign of the augment is omitted frequently.—σὺν τύχῃ δέ τῃ, supply πέμποιμ' ὦ. The use of τῆς is the common ironical use, fairly represented by the English *some* or *a certain* as an equivalent for 'great' or 'remarkable'.

461. Σπαρτοῦ. The expression τὸ Σπαρτὸν γένος seems a fair poetical varia-

tion for τὸ Σπαρτῶν γένος, and need scarcely be changed into it.—σπαρτῶν m'.

462. μάργων (μάργων Schütz, which, or else ἱππικόν, we should probably read) *furiously impatient*; see on v. 367.

464. τροφεία...χθονί: note that the expression is peculiarly applicable to a Σπαρτός who, proceeding from a stock literally 'grown of the soil', had the earth for his τροφός in a special sense. See ἐθρέψατο in v. 19 and note there.

465. ἐπ' ἀσπίδος. This addition seems at first sight tame, and doubly inaccurate, for πόλισμ' ἐπ' ἀσπίδος is not good writing for πόλισμα τὸ ἐπ' ἀσπίδος, neither does the description apply to the πόλισμα any more than to the second ἀνὴρ. But the words belong primarily not to πόλισμα but to ἐλὼν, and point to the military use of ἀσπίς for 'the shield side': cf. v. 611. As the number of lines in any particular formation was described by the number of 'shields' on the flank (see *Lex. s. v. ἀσπίς*) so ελεῖν ἐπ' ἀσπίδος is 'to take in line' from the right or undefended side towards the left. The other meaning 'on the shield' is of course also glanced at, but merely by way of jest. Cf. v. 507.

466. δῶμα πατρός: either (1), as I think, the temple of Ares, as general ancestor of the Thebans (v. 125) and patron of Megareus in particular; or (2) the house of Creon, a regal house (Creon having reigned before the sons of Oedipus), and as such perhaps entitled to this quasi-divine decoration. It is evident from *Rhes.* 179—180 that λάφυρα were held to belong properly to the temples, and they are always spoken of in tragedy as so disposed.



- κόμπαζ' ἐπ' ἄλλῃ, μηδὲ μοι φθόνει λέγων.  
 ΧΟ. ἐπεύχομαι δὴ τάδε μὲν εὐτυχεῖν, ἰὼ στρ. β'.  
 πρόμαχ' ἐμῶν δόμων, τοῖσι δὲ δυστυχεῖν.  
 ὡς δ' ὑπέρανχα βάξουσιν ἐπὶ πτόλει 470  
 μαινομένα φρενί, τῶς νιν  
 Ζεὺς νεμέτωρ ἐπίδοι κοταίνων.  
 ΑΓ. τέταρτος ἄλλος, γείτονας πύλας ἔχων  
 Ὅγκας Ἀθάνας, ξὺν βοῇ παρίσταται,

470. βάξουσ'.

467. ἐπ' ἄλλῃ. This phrase is incorrect, as Blomfield, who suggests *ἐτ' ἄλλον*, perceived. *κομπάζειν ἐπὶ τινι* would naturally mean 'to boast or triumph over' another, not 'to describe him in high or boastful terms', which is the sense required. I believe *ἐτ'* to be right, but should prefer *ἄλλω* to *ἄλλον*, both as nearer the MS. and as giving an effective allusion to the *δύ' ἄνδρες* of *v.* 465, *Set forth yet another pair*. As the two last shields have each exhibited an *ἄνθρωπος*, the expectation of a third is a natural jest.—*μηδὲ... λέγων* and *pry'thee be liberal of thy style*. Let us have their boasts in full, for I engage to meet them as easily as in this case.—*λόγων* Valckenaer.—*Exit* Megareus.

468. *τάδε μὲν εὐτυχεῖν... τοῖσι δὲ δυστυχεῖν* that our (choice) may be fortunate, and theirs unhappy. Regularity of antithesis would require either *ἡμῶν μὲν* *τάδε* in the first clause, or *κείνα* for *τοῖσι* in the second. The metre also, which in the short lyrics of this scene is usually exact as to the correspondence of syllables, is here not so (cf. *vv.* 508, 509). There is perhaps therefore some error. On the other hand the syllabic correspondence cannot be restored without considerable change, and the grammatical variation is scarcely worth notice. See further the *Appendix* on metres.

470. *βάξουσιν*. On this verb see the editor's note on Eur. *Med.* 1374, where it is shown that, in the Attic poets at least, it did not signify *to speak*, but pri-

marily *to bark*. Here, as in *v.* 558 and in Eur. *Hipp.* 119 *μάταια βάζει*, it is used, by a natural metaphor, of violent language. In etymology it is an onomatopoeia, connected with *βαῦ*, *βαῦζω*, as *κραυγή* is connected with *κράζω*.—*ἐπὶ over*.

472. *νεμέτωρ* *Divider, Dispenser*, probably of the *Spoil* (cf. *Eum.* 404 *τῶν αἰχμαλώτων χρημάτων λάχος μέγα ἐνεμαν ἐμοί*), and therefore invoked here with reference to the expected *λάφυρα*.

473. See the *Introduction*.—*γείτονας*. Either (1) *γείτονας ὧν εἶπεν* (Schol.), 'close to the gate last mentioned'; it appears from the next line that these gates were near together: or (2) *γείτονας Ὅγκας*. But it is better that this point should be left to Eteocles (*v.* 489).

474. *ἄλλος*: added, as in *v.* 411, to mark a contrast between this case and the preceding. The contrast lies in *ξὺν βοῇ*: Hippomedon has not, as Eteocles expects, a second *ἄνθρωπος* on his shield to make his *βοή* (see *vv.* 455, 467), but comes *with* a *βοή* of his *οὐκ* (*v.* 484).—*παρίσταται*, is *taking his place* beside the last (not *at* his gate, which would be *προρίσταται* as in *v.* 524).

475. *Ἱππομέδοντος σχῆμα* *Hippomedon accoutred*, literally 'the accoutrement of Hippomedon', a phrase like *Πολυφόντου βία*. The word *σχῆμα* might refer either to figure or equipment, but the whole of the following description shows that it is his armour, and specially his shield, which is chiefly intended.—For the metrical license of the

Ἴππομέδοντος σχῆμα καὶ μέγας τύπος  
 ἄλω δὲ πολλήν—ἀσπίδος κύκλον λέγω—  
 ἔφριξα δινήσαντος· οὐκ ἄλλως ἐρῶ.

475

initial trochee a parallel is cited by Priscian, Ἀλφειβόαν, ἣν ὀγεννήσας πατήρ, Soph. frag. 785 (Hermann). As to Παρθενσαῖος in v. 534 see note there. Like the anapaest tolerated in proper names even though not in the first foot of the verse, it is a concession to the inevitable. In Cho. 1047 φαοχίτωνες, not being a proper name, is more doubtful.

ιβ. καὶ μέγας τύπος with huge embossed device.—τύπος, the relief upon his shield, as in Eur. Phoen. 1130 σιδιρόντων ἀσπίδος τύποις, Rhés. 305 πέλτη χρυσοκολλήτοις τύποις ἔλαμπε, both in passages closely imitated from the descriptions in the present scene and the first directly referring to it. See also v. 508 ἀντίτυπον. The Lex. is not accurate as to the use of τύπος in the tragedians; the only place in which it may be used otherwise than in its proper sense 'a thing in high relief' is Eur. Bacch. 1333 ὅπως ἀλλάξει τύπον the form of a serpent, a passage of doubtful origin and not to be interpreted with certainty from the loss of the context. Eum. 49 Τοργελοῖς τύποις refers directly to such works of art (see the following verse), and so does Aesch. Supp. 288 Κύπριος χαρακτήρ τ' ἐν γυναικεῖσι τύποις εἰκὼς πέπληκται τεκτόνων πρὸς ἀρσένων. In Heracl. 858 νέων βραχιόνων ἡβητὴν τύπον the prominent moulding of the manly arm is contrasted with that of shrunken age, and similarly in Soph. frag. 239 μέσσον θυμῶος τύπον is the roundness of the full grape before it shrivels (see the context).—The Schol. and others take σχῆμα καὶ μέγας τύπος as a periphrasis for the huge-fashioned figure; but apart from the general doubt as to this loose meaning of τύπος, it would be most objectionable here, where the literal sense at once suggests itself. The evidence from the Phoenissae and Rhésus is decisive; and the τύπος,

mentioned in the case of Hippomedon only, was a special feature of this shield: see the following notes.

476. And I shuddered to see the long path—the circuit of the shield, that is—which it described. δινήσαντος is intransitive, the subject being τύπον; the genitive depends upon ἄλω, literally 'of it turned about'. The description is strictly appropriate, in that the τύπος, the work in high relief, belonged, as the sequel shows, to the circular border. For ἄλως there seems to be no precise English word: it is the circular threshing-path, on which the grain is trodden out by animals driven round. The whole ἄλως is slightly domed to drain it, and the centre rises above the path. The exact form is important, as will immediately appear. πολλήν is used correctly of distance, as in πολλήν κέλευθον a far way.—The Lex. and the commentators generally render πολλήν ἄλω vast orb or disc and δινήσαντος when he swung it round. But (1) the ἄλως was not a disc, but a circular path; (2) the words δῖνος, δινέω etc. are technical terms for the movement of the animals in the process of threshing, and δῖνος is actually a synonym of ἄλως: it is therefore extremely improbable that ἄλω and δινήσαντος as here used should have no precise connexion; (3) πολὺς is not a synonym of μέγας: πολλή χώρα (Eum. 837) cited by Paley proves nothing, as it does not describe a definite figure: hence the conjectures πολλὰν Wakefield, λευκήν Heimsoeth, etc.; (4) the movement of the shield is irrelevant to the description of the τύπος or work upon it, and it is this (see the next lines) which is in question.—The Schol. import the later meteorological sense of 'halo', and perhaps this has influenced the modern rendering. But this use (probably unknown to Aeschylus) is really a proof

ὁ σηματοουργὸς δ' οὐ τις εὐτελής ἄρ' ἦν,  
 ὅστις τόδ' ἔργον ὥπασεν πρὸς ἀσπίδι,  
 Τυφῶν' ἰέντα πύρπνοον διὰ στόμα  
 λιγνὺν μέλαιναν, αἰόλην, πυρὸς κάσιν'

480

that the *ἄλως* proper was *not* conceived as a disc, but as a circle surrounding a disc.—The comparison of the *δῖνος* or *ἄλως* was probably suggested to Aeschylus by the use of *δινωτός* *ringed* as a term of shield-making; see Hom. *Il.* 13. 407 *ἀσπίδα ῥινοῖσι βοῶν καὶ νώροπι χάλκῳ δινωτήν*.

479. *πρὸς*: see on *προσηδάφισται*, next note. The *τύπος* was an addition to the shield as commonly shaped and the cause of its great size.

480—483. *Τυφῶν*. A monster with a hundred serpentine heads (*ἐκατογκάρανος* Aesch., Pindar), fully described in Hesiod *Theog.* 820 *fol.* where he is called, as often, Typhoeus: *ἐκ δὲ αἱ ὤμων ἦν ἑκατὸν κεφαλὰι ὄφις, δεινοῖο δράκοντος*. By *στόμα* is perhaps intended a single fire-breathing orifice distinct from the hundred heads. These heads are the *πλεκτάναι ὄφρων* *branching snakes* of v. 482, the word *πλεκτάνη* being borrowed from its common application to the tentacles of the cuttle-fish (see *Lex. s. v.*). The shield, which as a remarkable work of art is described with great precision, was peculiar both in form and decoration. A central part of high curvature (*κοιλογάστῳ κύκλῳ*) was enclosed by a frame (*περίδρομον κύτος*) comparatively flat. (Hence the comparison to the *ἄλως*: see previous note.) The subject was the heads of Typhon. On the central part the fire and smoke were represented in the usual way by colouring the metal (note *μέλαιναν*) or by low relief; but the snakes, or parts of them, were carried out in full relief over the frame, which supplied the necessary ground or base (*ἔδαφος*) for attaching them at convenient points. The literal rendering of vv. 482, 483 is 'a frame surrounding a circle

hollow-within serves as additional support to the serpent-branches'. *ἔδαφος* (see the *Lex.*) is the proper word for the ground of a relief: here the solid parts of the work required a 'further ground' to fix them upon, which was supplied by the frame. The conception, whether imagined by Aeschylus or taken from some actual work, was probably suggested by a common treatment of Athena's aegis, in which the snakes are partly in low relief upon the substance of the aegis, partly carried out freely beyond it. To arrange such a design successfully would plainly require no common skill, and hence the admiration of the describer.—The scholia here, though much confused, have points of interest; (1) a correct explanation of *κύτος*, as *τὸ χώρημα τῆς ἀσπίδος* *i. e.* 'that which contains the shield', and (2) an isolated fragment *τοὺς γηγενεῖς δρακοντόποδας ἔγραψεν*, the author of which must have perceived the all-important fact, that the design is one whole, the *ὄφεις* being parts of the giant-figure; (3) the third note—*ἡ δὲ περιφέρεια τῆς ἀσπίδος κύκλῳ ὀφίων εἰς ἑαυτοὺς ἀντικρὺς ὀρώντων καὶ ἐμπλεγμένον τὰ τέλη ἔχει ἐγγεγραμμένα* (or *ἐγγεγραμμένου*) *πρὸς τὰ τέλη*. *ἡ ἀσπίς ἡ κοίλη πρὸς τῇ γαστρὶ τοῦ κατέχοντος αὐτὴν οὖσα*—has been injured. But it appears to be a confused version of two correct notes to this effect; (i) *ἡ δὲ περιφέρεια τῆς ἀσπίδος τῶν ὄφρων τὰ τέλη ἔχει ἐγγεγραμμένα* ('the outer circuit of the shield has the ends of the snakes carved upon it'), and (ii) *ἡ ἀσπίς κοίλη πρὸς τὸ κατέχον αὐτὴν οὖσα* ('the shield being *hollow* as compared with its containing frame').—*ἰέντα*. For the quantity of the *ι* cf. Eur. *Hec.* 338, *Ιρῆ. T.* 298 (Paley).

481. *a smoke red and flickering, next*

ὄφρων δὲ πλεκτάναισι περιδρομον κύτος  
 προσηδάφισται κοιλογάζτορος κύκλου  
 αὐτὸς δ' ἐπηλάλαξεν. ἔνθεος δ' Ἄρει  
 βακχῇ πρὸς ἀλκὴν, Θυιᾶς ὥς, φόβον βλέπων. 485

ET. πρῶτον μὲν Ὅγκα Παλλὰς, ἥτ' ἀγχίπολις  
 πύλαισι γέλτων, ἀνδρὸς ἐχθαίρουσ' ὕβριν,  
 εἵρξει νεοσσῶν ὥς δράκοντα δύσχιμον 490  
 Ἵπέρβιος δὲ κεδνὸς Οἶνοπος τόκος

of *kin to fire*. μέλας 'crimson', see v. 43.  
 —αἰόλος 'of varied colour', i.e. shot with  
 fiery gleams (see *Lex.*).—πυρὸς κάσις, i.e.  
 'almost fire'. The three epithets (πυρὸς  
 κάσιν being in effect an adjective) all de-  
 scribe the same fact, that the smoke was  
 fiery.—This punctuation suits the point  
 better than λιγνὸν μέλαιναν, αἰόλην πυρὸς  
 κάσιν, as it is usually printed.

484. αὐτὸς. To complete the effect  
 of his Typhon, he himself supplied the  
 terrible voice (cf. Hes. *Theog.* 829).

485. βακχῇ. Note change of tense.

487. For his vaunted terror is al-  
 ready at the gate. φόβος has an active  
 sense, somewhat as in v. 256, and is  
 used, like δαίμα, for the terrible thing,  
 the shield with its formidable design.  
 For κομπάζεται cf. κόμπων in v. 460.  
 The predicate of the sentence, notwith-  
 standing the position of φόβος, seems  
 to lie in ἥδη πρὸς πύλαις.—The line has  
 been variously corrected (φόνος Blom-  
 field, φοῖτος Weil) and even pronounced  
 spurious, but the order of the words,  
 which is really the only difficulty, is  
 scarcely a sufficient reason.

488. ἀγχίπολις γέλτων. See the *In-  
 troduction*. In the connexion of Pallas  
 with this particular gate, there is a *τύχη*  
*τις* (v. 459), Pallas with her aegis having  
 assisted Zeus in the conquest of Typhoeus  
 and the other γηγενεῖς. Cf. Hor. *Carm.*  
 III. 4. 53 'sed quid Typhoeus aut validus  
 Mimas...contra sonantem Palladis aegida  
 possent ruentes?' Both as goddess and

as virgin she is offended by the ἀνδρὸς  
 ὕβρις.

490. δράκοντα: the comparison is  
 pointed at the *Τυφλον*.—δύσχιμον win-  
 tered, wintry-cold, δυσχείμερον Schol., an  
 exaggeration of the common-place epi-  
 thet ψυχρὸς (δψος) meaning 'poisonous'  
 from the effect of the venom. As the  
 nest fixes the scene in the spring-time,  
 there is probably intended a further sug-  
 gestion that the creature has gathered  
 cold in its winter's torpor.—The theory  
 that δύσχιμος is formed by a suffix -χιμος  
 simply from δυσ- and means 'harmful'  
 or 'bad', even if scientifically correct,  
 has no bearing on the interpretation; for  
 it is certain that Aeschylus connected it  
 with χεῖμων and the idea of cold or  
 storm; see *frag.* 379 δέσποινα δυσχίμων  
 ὁρῶν and *Pers.* 570 Θρήκης δυσχίμων  
 κελεύθους. In *Cho.* 185 tears of misery  
 are termed δύσχιμος πλημμυρίς both as  
 copious and as 'cold' by contrast to the  
 warm tears of joy. Against this connex-  
 ion there is no example. Scientifically  
 it is more than doubtful whether a word  
 could be formed from δυσ- as a root, and  
 whether -χιμος is a possible termination.  
 The form of μελάγχμιος (*purple-dark*?)  
 proves nothing; from 'storm' to 'dark-  
 ness' is a slight transition, and for the  
 absorption of the idea in that of  
 colour, compare our 'snow-white' and  
 'coal-black'. Here the rendering 'harm-  
 ful' would destroy the poetry of the epi-  
 thet.

ἀνὴρ κατ' ἄνδρα τοῦτον ἡρέθη, θέλων  
 ἐξιστορήσαι μοῖραν ἐν χρεῖα τύχης,  
 οὐτ' εἶδος οὔτε θυμόν—οὐδ' ὕπλων σχέσειν  
 μωμητός, Ἑρμῆς δ' εὐλόγως συνήγαγεν.  
 ἐχθρὸς γὰρ ἀνὴρ ἀνδρὶ τῷ ξυστήσεται,  
 ξυνοίσετον δὲ πολεμίους ἐπ' ἀσπίδων  
 θεούς· ὁ μὲν γὰρ πύρπνοον Τυφῶν' ἔχει,  
 Ὑπερβίῳ δὲ Ζεὺς πατὴρ ἐπ' ἀσπίδος  
 σταδαῖος ἦσται, διὰ χερὸς βέλος φλέγων  
 κοῦπω τις εἶδεν Ζῆνάν που νικώμενον.  
 τοιάδε μέντοι προσφίλεια δαιμόνων.

495

500

496. ἀνὴρ—ξυστήσεται.

492. ἀνὴρ κατ' ἄνδρα *suitcd to him as man to man*, the answer to his Typhoean challenge being left to the gods. —ἡρέθη *was chosen*, when he was selected to be one of the seven: but the ἄγγελος may refer it to the moment when Eteocles began to speak.—οὐδὲ *nor... either* marks the device as a fresh point, noticed in the moment of speaking.

493. *Ready to enquire his doom of fortune's oracle*, literally 'in consultation of fortune'. For this description of the courageous mood, see on v. 54. As χρεῖα φίλων is a synonym for τὸ χρῆσθαι φίλοις (see *Lex. s. v.*), so here, as ἐξιστορήσαι shows, χρεῖα is poetically used in another sense of χρῆσις or τὸ χρῆσθαι, *vis.* 'to consult (an oracle)'. There is no other clear example, but in *Soph. O. T.* 725 *ων ἂν θεὸς χρεῖαν ἐρευνᾷ βαδῖως αὐτὸς φανεί*, it simplifies the thought to take χρεῖαν as an accusative 'cognate' in the sense of *enquiry*: 'God', the sense will then be, 'will be his own oracle'.—χρεῖα δορός *Wecklein*.

495. Ἑρμῆς *chance*, inasmuch as in the choice the appropriateness of his emblem was not considered. See on v. 459.

496. δ...τῷ demonstrative pronouns, see *vv.* 372, 531: the predicate of the sentence is ἐχθρὸς, and the construction is ἐχθρὸς ξυστήσεται οὗτος ἐκείνῳ, ἀνὴρ ἀνδρὶ,

*i.e.* the human adversaries will be personal enemies.—τῷ might also be relative (ἐχθρὸς ἐστὶν ὁ ἀνὴρ τῷ ἀνδρὶ, ὃ ξυστήσεται), but in that case the balance of the antithesis would require τῷ ἀνδρὶ τῷ κτλ. —Note that this verse assumes a legendary history lost to us. There are probably more allusions of the same kind, which we do not perceive.

500. σταδαῖος ἦσται *sits firm*, as if awaiting the attack in contemptuous majesty. In *Pers.* 243 σταδαῖος describes the Greek spear in opposition to the Oriental bow.—διὰ...φλέγων *while his bolt takes fire from his hand*, literally 'enflaming his bolt by means of his hand'. This is truer to the language, as well as more poetical, than 'with a burning bolt in his hand'. The phrase διὰ χερὸς appears to be unique in Aeschylus, for in *Pers.* 242 it does not satisfy the metre: διὰ χερῶν (*v.* 420) is of course different.

501. εἶδεν in artistic representation, the *victories* of Zeus being a familiar theme.

502. *Such, it is true, is the gratitude of heaven. But etc., or So much, however, for obliging a god! Still etc.* The sense of the unique word προσφίλεια is to be determined by that of προσφιλής, which, applied to persons, signifies 'one who obliges' or 'is obliged'. See *Lex. s. v.* *Soph. Phil.* 532, 558, 587. The differ-

πρὸς τῶν κρατούντων δ' ἑσμέν, οἳ δ' ἡσσωμένων,  
 εἰ Ζεὺς γε Τυφῶ καρτερώτερος μάχῃ,  
 Ὑπερβίῳ τε—πρὸς λόγον τοῦ σήματος 505  
 εἰκὸς γε πράξειν ἄνδρας ὧδ' ἀντιστάτας—  
 σωτήρ γένοιτ' ἂν Ζεὺς ἐπ' ἀσπίδος τυχῶν.

ΧΟ. πέποιθα τὸν Διὸς ἀντίτυπον ἔχοντα ἀντ. β'.

506. πράξιν.

ence between φίλος and προσφιλής is well shown by Eur. *Hec.* 982 φίλος μὲν εἰ σὺ προσφιλὲς δέ μοι τόδε στρατεύμ' Ἀχαιῶν, 'thou art my friend (of old), and I have (now) obliged the Greeks'.—The sense of this line has scarcely been considered, owing to the prevalent assumption that the speech is garbled (see Wecklein *Appendix*). Note carefully μέντοι, which shows that this is a qualification, not a confirmation, of what precedes. The explanation is not far to seek. The story of the Titans and their war with Zeus is variously told, but it is agreed that the victor abused his strength and treated ungratefully and perfidiously even his allies, among them Γαῖα, the Earth (Aesch. *P. V.* 226 *fol.*), and that his later conflicts (the subjugation of Typhoeus being the very last) were due to their anger. The story of Typhoeus had thus its sinister as well as its encouraging aspect for the worshipper of Zeus; and that this aspect of the legend was deeply interesting to Aeschylus we know well; for upon it is founded the tragedy of *Prometheus*. The touch of irrepressible scepticism and sarcasm conveyed in the present allusion is characteristic of the speaker, and points the otherwise pointless repetition which follows. 'Still', he continues, 'we are on the victorious side of the story, and will draw such omen (εἰκὸς γε) as we may'.—The verse is commonly interpreted, by those who do not emend or eject it, 'Such is the friendship of gods to the respective combatants'. But this (as Hermann and others saw) takes no account of μέντοι :

neither does it satisfy προσφιλεια. Paley explains μέντοι as resuming the argument after *v.* 501; but there is no interruption. In most texts the passage is reconstructed freely by omissions or alterations.

504—508. Punctuated as above these lines do not require alteration. 506 at least must be parenthetic, and πρὸς λόγον τοῦ σήματος (*on the analogy of the emblem of each*) belongs best to the parenthesis. *ei Zeús...τυχῶν* is one clause, *if 'Zeus' is any way a better fighter than 'Typhon', and Hyperbius—there is a likelihood in that at all events—may well find a σωτήρ in his fortunate emblem*. The expression is confused and hesitating, but so it should be, when a man wishes to say what he only half believes. Note the emphasis on Ὑπερβίῳ. The belief of Eteocles in his champion is decidedly more solid than his trust in the divine aid.—Ὑπερβίῳ δὲ Butler, *eikós* δὲ m'.

506. ἄνδρας ὧδ' ἀντιστάτας *the men here opposed*, as the deities in the legend.

507. τυχῶν. See on κυρεῖν *v.* 388. σωτήρ, a familiar title of the god.—The latter part of this speech has been treated as corrupt, partly on the ground of the repetitions, partly because the speech is longer than that of the ἄγγελος which precedes. But the first objection disappears upon the explanation of *v.* 502, and the assumption of corresponding length in the speeches is not warranted.

508. On the metre see *Appendix*. πέποιθα. The dubious religion of the prince calls out an energetic expression of faith.—Διὸς ἀντί-τυπον 'as τύπος opposed to the figure of Zeus': for τύπος

ἄφιλον ἐν σάκει τοῦ χθονίου δέμας  
δαίμοσιν, ἐχθρὸν εἴκασμα βροτοῖσί τε  
καὶ δαροβλοισι θεοῖσι,  
πρόσθε πυλᾶν κεφαλὰν ἰάψειν.

510

ΑΓ. οὕτως γένοιτο. τὸν δὲ πέμπτον αὐ λέγω,  
πέμπταισι προσταχθέντα Βορραῖαις πύλαις,  
τύμβον κατ' αὐτὸν Διογενοῦς Ἀμφίονος.  
ὄμνυσι δ' αἰχμὴν ἣν ἔχει, μᾶλλον θεοῦ  
σέβειν πεποιθὼς ὁμμάτων θ' ὑπέρτερον,

515

514. βορραῖαις.

see v. 475. Connect thus, τὸν ἔχοντα ἐν σάκει, Δ. ἀντ., δέμας τοῦ χθονίου ἄφ. δαίμ.

509. ἄφιλον... δαίμοσιν, *who hath no deity for friend*: δαίμοσιν is 'ethic' dative, 'in the regard of deities'.—The correction of Brunck, δαίμονος, obliterates the meaning of the phrase, which replies obliquely to the insinuation of Eteocles (502); Typhon had never a friend in heaven. Nor perhaps would the maidens have bestowed the name δαίμων upon the monster.

512. κεφαλὰν in allusion to the head or heads of Typho on the shield. See the description of the battle in Hesiod (*Theog.* 855) ἀμφὶ δὲ πάσας ἔκρεσε θεοσπίας κεφαλὰς δεινοῦ πελώρου.

514. On the topography and on Amphion see the *Introduction*. The emphasis on the fact that Parthenopaeus' post is 'just in face of the grave' of a Διογενῆς takes a certain significance from v. 519. —Βορραῖαις, the Attic form (Porson). Βορραῖαις would not be a correct form according to any known dialect; but it is impossible to say with certainty what form was used, or even that Βορραῖαις is wrong. See on v. 447.

516—518. *He swears by a spear-head*. This is mentioned by the way as a noteworthy trait of the savage Arcadian, rather than as a description of his behaviour before the gate, as is shown by the significant reference *totidem verbis* to the oath taken by the seven chiefs before the attack (cf. vv. 47, 518). The

spy in his previous excursion observed the peculiar gesture and formula, and recalls it now. The resumption of the main narrative is marked by the otherwise superfluous pronoun δ in v. 523. This deserves notice, as it justifies the position of the allusion, before the reference to his parentage and name, which would naturally be expected here: the irregular order of thought has suggested suspicion of the text.—αἰχμὴν ἣν ἔχει *a spear-head, that he has*; the addition notes the thing as a precious possession. This legend is curious, as bearing marks of an origin earlier than the use of metals. The type of religion itself indicates a primitive condition, and from the analogy of savage habits in general it is probable, that in the original story the adored spear-head was a fetish-stone, such as are worshipped and used for weapons by barbarians of all regions. Even in historical times Arcadia was in religion as in other respects comparatively barbarous, and 'the stone-age' must naturally have been prolonged there far later than on the more accessible sea-board. It is of course unnecessary to suppose that Aeschylus himself understood the character of the object or would have referred the worship of the spear-head to this cause.

516—17. *Which he trusts more than a god for sacredness and better than sight*. σέβειν is an 'epexegetic' infinitive, explaining πεποιθὼς (αὐτῇ) μᾶλλον θεοῦ,

ἡ μὴν λαπάξειν ἄστν Καδμείων βλα.  
Διὸς τὸδ' αὐδᾶ ματρὸς ἐξ ὀρεσκούου

518—519. βλα Διός.

literally 'trusting it more than a god as a thing to worship'. Both the position and sense of the word show that it affects the first part of the phrase only, and not *ὀμμάτων ὑπέρτερον*. The construction is the same in the parallel cited by Liddell and Scott, *χρήμασι ἐπεποιθέσαν διωθέσθαι* (Herod. ix. 88) *they trusted in money as a means of escape*. The translation given by the Lexicon for the present passage, 'daring to worship', is not consistent with the use of the verb; *πεποιθὼς σέβειν* would mean 'sure that he worships'.—*ὀμμάτων ὑπέρτερον*. This difficult expression is commonly taken to mean, that the *αἰχμή* was 'dearer to him than his eyes'. But this, were it to the purpose, cannot be got from the words: 'to trust' is not the same as 'to value', nor is there anything to show that *ὀμμάτων* is less general than *θεοῦ*. Even if *σέβειν* could be construed with *ὑπέρτερον*, and *σέβειν ὀμματα* were a natural way of speaking, there would still be the objection that *ὀμμάτων*, if parallel to *θεοῦ*, is an anticlimax. The question is, in what sense a weapon can be described as 'trusted more than eyes'. But in the case of a magical weapon, a fetish, which, according to the common belief of such worshippers, *could see its own way to the mark* and thus surpass the power of the directing aim, such a phrase does not appear unintelligible; and the comparison is the more natural from the common application to the eye of metaphors from shooting and aiming, *ὀμμάτων βέλος*, *ὀμματος τόξευμα* etc. For *ὑπέρτερον* there is an analogy in Eur. *Hipp.* 530 *οὔτε γὰρ πυρὸς οὔτ' ἄστρων ὑπέρτερον βέλος, οἷον ἴησιν* 'Eros. Anthropomorphic religion says, as Homer and Virgil frequently say, that 'a god' guides the javelin; in fetish-religion, like that of Parthenopaeus, the javelin is a god and

guides itself. In considering what latitude of sense can be given to obscure expressions like this, we have to remember that the Greek audience had two aids which we have not, the familiar epic story and the usage of common life. Both or either of these might interpret a formula like this *ὀμμάτων ὑπέρτερον* with immediate certainty. That it is genuine, the very peculiarity of it forbids us to doubt. —The punctuation of Hermann, joining *ἦν ἔχει πεποιθὼς* (*which he trusts*), has been rightly abandoned by recent editors: *ἔχω πεποιθὼς* is not sound grammar.

518. The comparison of this with *v.* 47 shows conclusively that the sentence ends at *βλα* and not, according to the punctuation of the MS., at *Διός*. See the note there. The sense is known to be complete at *βλα*, and the unexpected addition of *Διός* is intolerable to the ear. Moreover, the words 'in spite of Zeus' are so pointless, that many texts adopt, after Hermann, the conjecture of the later copies, *δορός*. But see next note.

519. *Διὸς ματρὸς ἐξ ὀρεσκούου βλάστημα* *the offspring of Zeus by her who dwell upon the mountains*. Of Atalanta, mother of Parthenopaeus, the Attic tragedians relate no more than this, that she was a companion of Artemis, a maiden huntress (*κόρη, κυναγός*) who lived remote from men in the forests of Mount Maenalus in Arcadia, and took part in the famous hunt of the Calydonian boar (*Soph. O. C.* 1320, *Eur. Phoen.* 150, 1106, 1153; *Supp.* 888). The parentage of her child, like that of the prophet in the *Lady of the Lake*, was in the original story a mystery. This is implied by Sophocles and Euripides, who describe him always as the son of *Atalanta*, and proved by the many conflicting hypotheses of the legend-



βλάστημα καλλίπρπον, ἀνδρόπαις ἀνὴρ.  
στείχει δ' Ἰουλος ἄρτι διὰ παρηλδων,  
ὄρας φυούσης, ταρφὺς ἀντέλλουσα θρίξ.

520

compilers, Pausanias, Hyginus, etc. (See Smith's *Dict. Myth.* under *Atalanta* and *Parthenopaeus*.—From the language of Sophocles (*l.c.*) ἐπώνυμος τῆς πρόσθεν ἀδμήτης χρόνῳ μητρὸς λαχευθείς it seems that the legend connected his very name with this mystery, as if it were παῖς τῆς παρθένου. The writers who make Milonian his father are most probably confusing two wholly different stories. Nothing in the references of the tragedians indicates that the mother of Parthenopaeus was the Atalanta of the famous race.—Now it is to be noticed that what we have here is the version of the story given by *Parthenopaeus himself*. The boastful description of his parentage is *quoted*, as the poet is careful to mark, by introducing into it the foreign-sounding form ματρός, wrongly changed for the common μητρὸς in the later copies and modern texts. Such a personage would of course claim a divine father, and the higher the more likely; to style himself 'son of Zeus' is simply to put the mystery in the most advantageous form. Compare the speculations as to the parentage of Oedipus in *Oed. Tyr.* 1098 foll. It is needless to refer to the many legends in which Zeus plays a similar part. Nor would the fatherhood of Zeus necessarily impeach his title of παῖς τῆς παρθένου (cf. *P. V.* 874—877 ἐνταῦθα δὴ σε Ζεὺς τίθησιν ἔμφρονα ἐπαφῶν ἀταρβεῖ χειρὶ καὶ θυγῶν μόνον. ἐπώνυμον δὲ τῶν Διὸς γεννημάτων τέξεις κελαινόν "Ἐπαφόν); and it is a significant fact that Martial (x. 4. 3) classes Parthenopaeus with Attis among the *monstra* or miracles of ancient legend. There is no reason therefore to doubt the traditional text, if properly punctuated; and the more so as the mention of a father is almost required to justify the expression ἐξ ματρός.

ὄρε-σκίου. This word points to an

animal origin of this legend, for it implies that she lived, like the beasts of the forest, in a 'covert' or lair.

520. καλλίπρπον in *beauty's prime*; cf. *Ag.* 245 στόματος καλλιπρώρου (of Iphigenia at the sacrifice). It is creating unnecessary difficulty to derive this word from πρῶρα in the sense of *prou*; ἡ πρῶρα (τῆς νεότης) means properly the *fore-part*, being derived from the stem πρῶ- or πρω- with noun-suffix. The ancient derivation from προ-ειρεσία is of course wrong. In καλλίπρπος we have a relic of the same word in a *temporal* sense. That this sense, as well as that of space, originally belonged to the stem we know from the adverb πρῶ or πρῶτῃ, *early*, where it became fixed to the exclusion of the local. Naturally the familiar sense of πρῶρα would influence and limit the use of καλλίπρπος, and Aeschylus, if we may judge from two examples, seems to have suspected a comparison between a prow and the lines of a beautiful mouth, and to have been thinking here chiefly of the 'unrazed lip'. In Euripides, as we might expect, the usage of prose has triumphed; and the word is applied to a ship (*Med.* 1335). Neither in prose nor in poetry is there any indication that πρῶρα meant 'a face' (see *Lex. s. v.*). In *Cho.* 390, παροιθεν δὲ πρῶρας δριμύς ἀηται κραδίας θυμός, it means literally *prou* (note ἀηται *blows*) and metaphorically *mouth* (upon the same evidence). In *Soph. Trach.* 13 ἀνδρὲϊ κῦτει βούπρπον, it means *fore-part*, but Sophocles, like Aeschylus, propitiates usage by the antithesis of κῦτος (*hull*). Both poets are imitating cautiously the freedom of earlier language; and in the present passage the influence of πρῶρα *prou*, if discernible, is still remote.

522. The poets seem, notwithstanding the legendary derivation, to have some-

δ' ὁ ὤμόν, οὔτι παρθένων ἐπώνυμον,  
 φρόνημα, γοργὸν δ' ὄμμ' ἔχων, προσίσταται—  
 οὐ μὴν ἀκόμπαστός γ' ἐφίσταται πύλαις·  
 τὸ γὰρ πόλεως ὄνειδος ἐν χαλκηλάτῳ  
 σάκει, κυκλωτῷ σώματος προβλήματι,

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times interpreted the name Παρθεν-οπαῖος to mean 'girl-faced'; cf. Euripides' description (*Phoen.* 150) καταβόστρυχος, θυμασι γοργὸς εἰσιδεῖν, and see next note.

523. *Savage his heart, and suiting nowise his maiden name, but maiden-proud his flashing eye, as he comes etc.* From the use of δέ there must be a contrast in the two parts of the description; which contrast, as it is not to be found in the ideas ὤμος and γοργός, must lie in the fact that in the γοργὸν ὄμμα he was maiden-like, though in the ὤμον φρόνημα he was not. Aeschylus is thinking of the Athenian use of γοργῶπις and the Athenian sense of ἡ Παρθένος, both of them familiar titles of the goddess Athena. The word γοργός (see the *Lex.* and cf. γοργῶψ, γοργωπός) is applied almost always to the eye, and appears to have signified properly *bright flashing* (see *P. V.* 372 γοργωπὸν σέλας etc.). Once or twice (e.g. Eur. *Andr.* 459) it describes the flash of armour. The expression of feature, which it marks, is well seen in Euripides' graphic description of the personified Athens (*Supp.* 322) where, like Aeschylus here, he had the patron-goddess in mind,—

κεκερτομημένη

τοῖς κερτομοῦσι γοργὸν ὡς ἀναβλέπει,

and by Xenophon's use of it (see *Lex.*), as the epithet of young and spirited horses. It signifies the *flash* of sensitive pride; and as applied to the θύμα παρθένου may be compared with the use of πῶλος for a *maid* (παρθένος ἄνῃ); see *v.* 440. The renderings *grim, terrible* etc. miss the point.—The later copyists perceived that δέ required an explanation, and not finding one, changed it to τε.

524. προσίσταται...πύλαις is taking

his post...at the gate; cf. *v.* 557. The construction is broken off in order to substitute ἐφίσταται, but there should be no strong stop at the end of *v.* 524.

525. ἐφίσταται. The change of word is of course significant—yet not without proud announcement waiting: ἐπιστῆναι (πύλαις) is the fixed expression for a person presenting himself at an entrance, as in Euripides several times, *Hel.* 779 ποιοῖς ἐπιστὰς βαρβάρους πυλώμασιν; *Phoen.* 284 τίνες ἐφειστᾶσιν δόμοις; *Supp.* 755, *Iph. A.* 862, *Bacch.* 319 (where it describes the attendance for the purpose of audience before the gate of a great person): ἐφίστασθαι (pres. tense) is 'to continue in that position, to wait'. For this ἐπιστῆναι in reference to a city see Herod. iv. 203. Parthenopaeus though waiting admission announces by his emblem his intention to pass. (In Liddell and Scott's *Lex. s. v.* the present passage, by an oversight, is classed under the sense *praesesse, to be in command*.)—ἀκόμπαστος is taken from the same vocabulary, κόμπος and κομπάζειν being used of a 'style' or honourable distinction by which a person describes himself; so of the parentage (Eur. *Alc.* 500), of the country etc. (*Bacch.* 461), and of the occupation (*Eum.* 209, *Soph. Ai.* 1122, *El.* 1500). Here as throughout this scene the κόμπος is the blazon of the shield.—Note the subtle device by which the contrast of προσίσταται and ἐφίσταται is enforced. The rhythm of the line, in verse so regular as this, compels the division of the word, and thus gives prominence to the preposition.

526. πόλεως ὄνειδος, as having preyed upon the citizens, till her riddle was answered by the stranger Oedipus.

Σφίγγ' ὁμόσιτον προσμεμηχανημένην  
 γόμοις ἐνώμα, λαμπρὸν ἔκκρουστον δέμας·  
 φέρει δ' ὑφ' αὐτῇ φῶτα Καδμείων ἕνα,

530

528. *προσμεμηχανημένην γόμοις, attached to (the shield) by an enginery of bolts.* The figure of the Sphinx was *ἐκκρουστον*, i.e. made of a metal plate, beaten out into a relief. It was separate from the surface of the shield and moveable. See Eustathius p. 1160, 49 (cited by Hermann) *ὥς δὲ καὶ μηχανῇ τι ἐκινούντο, ἔκκρουστα ὄντα καὶ οὐ δώλου προσηλωμένα τῷ σάκει. καὶ οὕτω ἐφάνταζον τοῖς ὁρώσι τὸ αὐτοκίνητον, ὅποιον δὴ τι πλάττει καὶ Αἰσχύλος ἐν τοῖς Ἑπτὰ ἐπὶ Θήβας.* The attachment is described briefly and not by any means clearly, in remarkable contrast with the precision of detail in the shield of Hippomedon. Probably this Sphinx is, as Eustathius supposed, a work of pure imagination. As *γόμοι* are commonly *nails* used in carpentry, the simplest supposition is, that here they are things like nails, pieces of metal hooked into the *ἐκκρουστον*, passing through small holes in the shield, and secured on the inner side by buttons like nail-heads. The *ἐκκρουστον* would thus swing freely and have an appearance of movement. See further on *v.* 629. Euripides (*Phoen.* 1124) imagines a yet more wonderful example of moveable figures, but is yet vaguer as to the machinery; it was done, he says, by 'a clever arrangement of hinges' or 'pivots', *εὖ πως στρόφινξι.*—*ἐνώμα he made it move, worked it.* The imperfect tense is correctly used of the temporary action, which the speaker saw. *φέρει, she carries,* in *v.* 530 with equal correctness of what is permanently true. That the copyist did not fall into the natural error *γόμοισι νωμῇ* (which has been proposed as a correction) is a re-assuring proof of accuracy.

530. *The Sphinx beneath her carries a Cadmean man, and never for any one before did she fly through such a cloud*

*of spears: it looks as though, once arrived, he will do no petty dealing in the trade of war, but something worth the far journey that he has made.* The equivalent in prose terms for *v.* 531 would be *ὥστε πλείστα ἐφ' ἐνὶ ἀνδρὶ τούτῳ βέλη διαπτέσθαι: ἕνα, ἀνδρὶ, and πλείστα* being the elements, poetically varied in arrangement, of the familiar locution *πλείστ(α) εἰς ἀνὴρ*, for which see the *Lex. s. v. εἰς*. For *τῷ* cf. *v.* 496 (a close parallel) and see *vv.* 179, 372. For *ἐπὶ* with the dative of the cause or object of an action cf. *ἐπὶ τυραννίδι (to gain despotic power) τι ποιεῖν* and other examples in the *Lex. s. v. ἐπὶ*. The use of *ὥς* is difficult to class with precision and certainty. It may be only a simple consecutive use, 'so that she has flown'; but the case and position of *ἕνα* rather suggest such analogies as *ὀλίγοι ὥς ἐγκρατεῖς εἶναι* *few to be conquerors*, *ψυχρὸν ὥστε λοῦσασθαι ὕδωρ* *water cold to wash in*, *εἰς* being used as a term of quantity, like *ὀλίγος*. Meineke proposed to read *Καδμείων* (i.e. *Καδμείωνα*), *ἐνὶ ὥς κτλ.*, which is simpler, but we cannot safely assume that a poetical phrase of this kind admits a strict and logical analysis. (It should be observed that *εἰς* is not found as a mere equivalent for *τις*: in the apparent examples it generally signifies nearly *quivis* 'any one, equal to one, merely one'; see *Eur. Med.* 945, *Or.* 264, *Bacch.* 917, *Soph. El.* 1342. In *Soph. Ant.* 269 *λέγει τις εἰς ὅς πάντας κτλ.* there is an antithesis between *εἰς* and *πάντας*, and so elsewhere.)—The selection of the Sphinx as the emblem of 'Parthenopaeus' was perhaps suggested to Aeschylus or some predecessor by the form of the monster, *παρθένιον πτέρον*, *Eur. Phoen.* 806. In the comment of the *ἄγγελος* the recent enterprise of the 'Sphinx' is contrasted with her former depredations, when she swoop-

ὡς πλεῖστ' ἐπ' ἀνδρὶ τῷ διαπτέσθαι βέλη.  
 ἔλθων δ' ἔοικεν οὐ καπηλεύσειν μάχην,  
 μακρὰς κελεύθου δ' οὐ καταισχυνείν πόρον.  
 [Παρθενοπαῖος Ἀρκὰς· ὁ δὲ τοῖσδ' ἀνὴρ,  
 μέτοικος, Ἄργει δ' ἐκτίνων καλὰς τροφάς,  
 πύργοις ἀπειλεῖ τοῖσδ' ἅ μὴ κραίνου θεός.]

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531. τῷ δ' ἰάπεσθαι.

533. καταισχύνειν.

ed suddenly upon her Cadmean, and carried him off, as Euripides says (*Phoen.* 808), 'into the pathless air' securely, and not, as now she must, through numberless assailing weapons. Thus interpreted, the device is seen to imply the idea of a severe and unwonted labour undertaken; and leads (note *εοικεν*) to the thought that Parthenopaeus, having come all the way from distant Arcadia, will not easily be balked of his intended capture. Thus the *ἄγγελος* ends as usual by emphasizing the danger.—*μακρὰς κελεύθου* is practically an adjective to *πόρον*, as it were *μακρο-κείμενον*: the close connexion of the words justifies the postponement of the conjunction.

In the above explanation of this passage I have assumed the reading of *v.* 531 given in the text. Of the letters as divided, conjecturally of course, in the *ms.*, two interpretations have been given, (1) 'so that more missiles are aimed at him (Parthenopaeus) than at any other', the besieged being provoked by the insulting emblem, (2) 'so that missiles fall for the most part upon him (the Theban)', describing the supposed position in which the Sphinx holds her prey (Hermann). It is not surprising that to this alternative Halm preferred the escape of striking the verse out. The second explanation is scarcely intelligible in itself, and does not satisfy *ενα*: the first makes an improbable distinction between *φῶτα* and *ἀνδρὶ τῷδε*: and both are quite irrelevant to the purpose of the description, and leave *vv.* 532—533, contrary

to the plain intention of their words, without any connexion with the context. It may be added that throughout these descriptions there is no reference to actual fighting, naturally and necessarily, since the poet, in order to get time for this scene, is careful to note at the opening of it, that the attack cannot at present commence (*v.* 365). For *διαπτέσθαι* and its construction see the *Lex. s. v.* The true Attic form of the aor. inf. is *διαπτάσθαι* (see Porson on *Eur. Med.* 1); this however does not affect the critical question, as the *mss.* give *-πτέσθαι* more often than not, nor indeed can we be sure that the 'Attic' form would be that of Aeschylus.

534—536. The internal evidence against these lines (pronounced spurious by H. Wolf, Dindorf and others) is conclusive: (1) the interpolator explains how Parthenopaeus came to be resident at Argos (cf. *Eur. Supp.* 888), not observing that, as Aeschylus conceived the story, he was *not* resident there, but had come from Arcadia, as is shown by the reference to his *μακρὰ κείμενος*; (2) *v.* 536 is borrowed almost verbally from *v.* 413, with the difference that the expressions, which are there pointed and appropriate (see the note), are here pointless; it is inconceivable that any one who really understood *v.* 413, as Euripides for instance understood it, should have repeated it here; (3) the interpolation, which has probably grown out of a mere note (*Παρθενοπαῖος Ἀρκὰς*), is accounted for by the wish to give the name; but the poet has given it already (*v.* 523)

ET. εἰ γὰρ τύχοιεν ὧν φρονοῦσι πρὸς θεῶν  
 αὐτοῖς ἐκείνοις ἀνοσίοις κομπάσμασιν.  
 ἢ τᾶν πανώλεις παγκάκως τ' ὀλοῖατο.  
 ἔστιν δὲ καὶ τῷδ', ὃν λέγεις τὸν Ἀρκάδα,  
 540 ἀνὴρ ἄκομπος, χεῖρ δ' ὄρᾳ τὸ δράσιμον,  
 "Ακτωρ, ἀδελφὸς τοῦ πάρος λελεγμένου·  
 ὃς οὐκ ἔασει γλῶσσαν ἐργμάτων ἄτερ

540

538. ἀνοσίαις.

in a more subtle way, for the express purpose of avoiding the inartistic recurrence to the license taken in *v.* 475. It is noticeable that Priscian (see note on *v.* 475) does not cite *v.* 534. Dramatically there is of course no need to mention the name of a well-known personage, if he is sufficiently described.—The discrepancy between Aeschylus and Euripides respecting the story of Parthenopaeus is not surprising. According to the schol. on *v.* 534 Antimachus (author of a Thebaid, late 5th century) gave yet a third version, making him to be not an Arcadian at all, but an Argive. The heroic legends, inconsistent in themselves, were handled by the poets with freedom of detail. The treatment by Euripides of the *Phoenissae* is a much bolder instance of innovation.

537. *Oh, if they might receive of the gods their own imaginations, even according to their impious boasts! i.e.* that the true gods may leave Parthenopaeus to the aid of his trusted *αλχμή* and no other, and let him destroy himself, as did the Sphinx, in defeat and despair. *ὧν i.e.* *ἐκείνων*, *ἀ.*—*ὡς* Weil, but the text, though less simple, is more forcible.—*αὐτοῖς κτλ.* is constructed both with *τύχοιεν* and with *φρονοῦσι*: they are to 'obtain by their boasts' that which they 'imagine therein'.

541. *χεῖρ δ' ὄρᾳ his hand seeth that which can be done.* The explanation of this curious phrase, much more noticeable in Greek than it would be in our highly coloured, metaphorical English, is perhaps to be found in its antithesis to *ἄκομπος*.

From the language of the scene throughout and immediately before (*v.* 537), it is natural to suppose that *κόμπος* refers to blazonry, and the comparison of *οὐ κόμπων* in *v.* 460 shows that *ἄκομπος* may well signify not 'without a blazon', but 'having a blazon not false or over-boastful'. It may be inferred therefore that the shield of Actor—which, it must be remembered, is there, visible to the audience—presents a symbol which Eteocles interprets to mean 'quick of hand', such as a hand and an eye, or a hand with an eye upon it, perhaps with *χεῖρ ὄρᾳ* itself as a legend. Cf. *v.* 610 and note. It is some confirmation of this that Euripides, in his imitation (*Phoen.* 1115), describes one of his blazons as 'an Argus with eyes all over him'.—Note also that this line may reflect some light on *v.* 517, for if that was rightly explained above, we have here a fair retort, 'If our champion cannot pretend to an impossible seeing spear, he has at least a seeing hand for what is possible'.

543. *Who will not suffer an idle tongue unchecked to flow on into the gate and feed mischief within, i.e.* will not allow the threats to be executed without a struggle. The metaphor of a stream is not very happy, and the word *ρέουσιν* has been suspected (*ῥέουσιν* Burges, *φλίδουσιν* Heimsoeth). But it is supported by the correspondence of metaphor in *ἄλδανειν* to *make grow*, and it is necessary to the point: *ἐργμα* has two meanings, (1) *deed* and (2) *barrier*, as of a *dyke* against a stream, from *εργω*: cf.

ἔσω πυλῶν ῥέουσιν ἀλδαίνειν κακά,  
 οὐδ' εἰσαμεῖψαι θηρὸς ἐχθίστου δάκοντος  
 εἰκὼ φέροντα πολεμίας ἐπ' ἀσπίδος·  
 ἔξωθεν εἰσω τῷ φέροντι μέμψεται,  
 πυκνοῦ κροτησμοῦ τυγχάνουσ' ὑπὸ πτόλιν.  
 θεῶν θελόντων δ' ἀντ' ἀληθεύσαιμ' ἐγώ.

545

*Pers.* 88 ὑποστὰς μεγάλῳ ρεύματι φωτῶν ἐχυροῖς ἔρκεσιν εἰργεῖν ἄμαχον κύμα θαλάσσης, Eur. *Tr.* 686 (of a leak) ἀντλὸν εἰργὼν ναός. Here both meanings are equally appropriate and equally suggested by the context, the first by the antithesis to γλώσσαν, the second by ἔσω πυλῶν ῥέουσιν, and the point lies in the play between the two. The bold use of γλώσσαν, which embarrasses the conception, has the merit of an effective contrast between 'hand' and 'tongue'.

545. οὐδ' ἔδσει εἰσαμεῖψαι τὸν τὴν εἰκὼ φέροντα.—θηρὸς εἰκὼ, the monstrous image; the defining genitive has the force of an epithet.

547. These words can be understood in two ways: (1) referring ἔξωθεν to ἀσπίδος, the Sphinx outside the shield will complain to the bearer within of the battery to which she is exposed; note the emphasis laid in *v.* 527 on the fact that the shield of Parthenopaeus is large enough to cover his person, of which fact Eteocles here makes sarcastic use; (2) referring ἔξωθεν to πτόλιν, as an elliptic expression for ἔξω οὐδα μέμψεται τῷ ἔξωθεν εἰσω φέροντι, outside shall she complain to him who would carry her in: ἔξωθεν (for ἔξω) is then used according to the common 'pregnant' use of such adverbs (cf. *v.* 40); εἰσω is displaced from its natural position for the sake of an emphatic contrast with ἔξωθεν. As the sentence taken so is but a repetition of the preceding in a different form, the absence of a conjunction is according to rule. Both interpretations are equally natural, and the ambiguity must be designed, like that of *v.* 543, as a jest.—There seems to be no reason for sup-

posing that the text is defective here, or that this speech was originally longer than it now is. See the *Introduction*, and for the opposite view Dindorf, Weil and others.

548. πυκνοῦ κροτησμοῦ alluding to the βέλη of *v.* 531 (Paley), whichever way that line be interpreted, and also, probably, to the form of the 'Sphinx', which, in contrast to the decorations previously described, is a work of the hammer; cf. κροτεῖν, κρότησις, and see on *v.* 528. It will receive many additional strokes, says Eteocles ironically, before it gets in. ὑπὸ πτόλιν. ὑπόπτολις Hartung; but the text gives a slightly different and better meaning 'on the way up to the town'.

549. τὸδ' ἂν ἀληθεύσαιμ' ἔπος Weil, κατορθώσαιμ' ἔπος Wecklein. Several other suggestions are mentioned in Wecklein's *Appendix*, all assuming that ἀληθεύσαιμ' is either the genuine word, or truly represents the sense. The simplest, ἂν (i.e. ἂ ἀν) ἀληθεύσαιμ' ἐγώ, proposed and rejected by Hermann, and adopted by Paley, is objectionable for this among other reasons, that the crasis of ἂ ἀν appears to be found only in the sense whatever. But a comparison of this speech with the preceding, the points of which it follows throughout, strongly suggests that ἀληθεύσαιμ' is simply an error of letters for κάπηλεύσαιμ',—and, if the gods will, 'tis I will prove the cosener; cf. *v.* 530. The word κάπηλος and its derivatives, properly signifying petty trade, acquired the secondary meaning of cheating, deception (see the *Lex.*), cited in the later scholia irrelevantly under *v.* 530 (ψεύσεσθαι, δολῶσιν), and would be used in this sense with ironical humility by

- ΧΟ. *ἰκνεῖται λόγος διὰ στηθέων,* στρ. γ'. 550  
*τριχὸς δ' ὀρθίας πλόκαμος ἴσταται*  
*μεγάλα μεγαληγόρων*  
*κλύων ἀνοσίων ἀνδρῶν. εἰ θεοὶ*  
*θεοί, τοῦσδ' ὀλέσειαν ἐν γῇ.*
- ΑΓ. *ἔκτον λέγοιμ' ἄν ἄνδρα σωφρονέστατον* 555  
*ἀλκὴν τ' ἀριστον μάντιν, Ἀμφιάρεω βίαν.*

553. *εἰ.*

Eteocles. Parthenopaeus comes, like a great merchant, to do a mighty trade in war; the Thebans will shut him out, and 'cheat' him of his expected profit. And note that this explains the emphatic *ἐγώ*, in which the critics above quoted have rightly found a difficulty. The facility of the error in an uncommon word is well illustrated by one of the later MSS. (Par. E, see Hermann) which gives here *ἀλευθήσαιμ'*. If by an accident *καληπεύσαιμ'* were written, the reading of M would arise with ease.

550. *λόγος*: the impious language of Parthenopaeus? The metaphor here is bold for Greek, but see on v. 553.—*τρόμος* or *φόβος* Jacobs.

551. *πλόκαμος*, properly hair which can be plaited, used of the long hair of women, as here, and of men's hair when grown long, as for a votive offering.—*δρθιος* Blomfield.

553. *κλύων*, another bold figure, the hair itself being said to 'hear'. *κλύουσ'* (*κλύουσα*), the conjecture of the later MSS., is bad in grammar, and the text is probably correct. The peculiarities of vv. 550—554 defend each other, as they show evidence of a deliberate intention to strain the language for a strong effect. On the metre see the *Appendix*. (*κλύειν*, suggested by Paley, seems not to be Greek, and is not to be supported by such infinitives as *ἰδέσθαι* in v. 408.)—*εἰ θεοὶ θεοὶ (εἰσι), ἵψ the gods be gods*, as we believe, let them avenge themselves on the blasphemer. Cf. Soph. *O. C.* 623 *εἰ Ζεὺς ἐτι Ζεὺς ὡς Διὸς Φοῖβος σαφής*. The reading of M

is right, except in the accent of *εἰ*, which is probably due to a confused notion that it is used for *εἴθε*. No connecting conjunction is required or indeed properly admissible.—*εἴθε γὰρ rec.*

554. *τοῦσδ' ὀλέσειαν ἐν γῇ* let them sink these blasphemers in earth, literally 'cause them to disappear', see on v. 408. There is an impressive irony in the juxtaposition of this prayer and the following description of the pious Amphiarus, upon whom the fate invoked was bestowed by the gods as an exceptional favour. See Eur. *Supp.* 925, notes on vv. 574, 575, and the *Introduction*.

555. *sagest of warriors and of prophets bravest in battle*. *μάντιν* should be joined with *ἀριστον ἀλκὴν*, not taken separately. The combination of virtues in Amphiarus is described by the double antithesis of *ἄνθρωπος—μάντις*, and *ἀγαθὸς ἀλκὴν—σώφρων*: each character being joined with the virtue of the other. *ἄνθρωπος* has here a strong sense answering to that of *ἄνδρα*. Cf. the precisely similar description of Amphiarus by Adrastus in Pindar *Ol.* vi. 17 *στρατιᾶς ὀφθαλμὸν ἐμᾶς, ἀμφοτέρων μάντιν τ' ἀγαθὸν καὶ δουρὶ μάνασθαι*. There can be little doubt that Pindar and Aeschylus follow the same Epic tradition, of which indeed Pindar appears to preserve a textual fragment, *ἀμφοτέρων μάντιν τ' ἀγαθὸν καὶ δουρὶ (μάχεσθαι)*. The point of these descriptions turns, like many others, on the form of the name, *Ἀμφιάρεως*, which the bards connected with *ἀρι-*, *ἀρείων*, etc., and took to mean 'doubly excellent'.

Ὅμολωσίῃσιν δὲ πρὸς πύλαις τεταγμένος  
 κακοῖσι βάζει πολλά Τυδέως βίαν,  
 τὸν ἀνδροφόντην, τὸν πόλεως ταρακτορα,  
 μέγιστον Ἄργει τῶν κακῶν διδάσκαλον,  
 Ἐρινύος κλητῆρα, πρόσπολον φόνου,  
 κακῶν τ' Ἀδράστῃ τῶνδε βουλευτήριον  
 καὶ τὸν σὺν αὐθις πρὸς μόραν ἀδελφεόν,

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563. *πρὸς μόραν* first accent erased.

558. *βάζει*, in reply to the taunts of Tydeus himself (*v.* 369) whose appointed post was near his own at the next gate but one, Polynices (see *v.* 563 and the *Introduction*) having the nearest. For *βάζειν* see on *v.* 470.

559. *τὸν ἀνδροφόντην*. Tydeus of Calydon had come to Argos to expiate a murder by temporary exile, according to the ancient practice; *ἐπεὶ τοὺς Μέλανος ἀπέκτεινεν παῖδας Ἀλκάθου καὶ Λυκαργέα* (Schol.). Cf. Eur. *Suppl.* 147 ΘΗ. ἦλθον δὲ δὴ πῶς πατρίδος ἐκλιπὸνθ' ἔρους; ἈΔ. Τυδεὺς μὲν αἶμα ξυγγενὲς φεύγων χθονός (Paley). The accusative with the article, *τὸν ἀνδροφόντην*, answers to the nominative with the article in direct speech, *ὁ ἀνδροφόντης*, as the simple accusative to the form *ὦ ἀνδροφόντα*. It signifies that the description is as it were the proper title of the person addressed. Cf. Eur. *Hipp.* 589.

560—2. There is, as has often been noticed, a certain irregularity in the arrangement of these lines. Between *Ἄργει τῶν κακῶν* in *v.* 560 and *κακῶν Ἀδράστῃ τῶνδε* in *v.* 562 there is obviously an antithesis, that of the general to the particular—*strongest to persuade Argos to evil and adviser of Adrastus in this evil now*. Hence the *τε* in *v.* 562; which couples these contrasted expressions together, and would not be used, according to the rules of the language, in a mere catalogue. This antithesis would appear more simply if the two lines were continuous. On the other hand, the interruption is natural to the style of an

invective and improves the dramatic effect of it. (Cf. the position of *Πολυνείκουσ βίαν* in *v.* 564.) Translated into direct speech *vv.* 559—562 would run clearly enough thus—*σύ, ὁ ἀνδροφόντης, ὁ τῆς πόλεως ταρακτωρ, Ἄργει τε τῶν κακῶν εἰ μέγιστος διδάσκαλος, ὦ κλητῆρ Ἐρινύος καὶ φόνου πρόσπολε, Ἀδράστῃ τε τῶνδε τῶν κακῶν βουλευτήριος*.—If any change were required, the simplest would be to transpose *vv.* 560, 561, but it would not be a real improvement. For other suggestions see Wecklein's *Appendix*.

561. *Summoner of the Avengers and minister of Death, i.e. a murderer bringing a curse with him where he went*. There may also be a reference, as supposed by a Schol., to the *Ἐρινύς* of Oedipus, which the act of Tydeus is summoning to fulfilment. But this is not necessary.

563. *And thy brother also he upbraids in due measure, i.e. according to his guilt, not with the fierce denunciations addressed to Tydeus, whose malice was unprovoked, but with terms importing the reckless pursuit of ambition and revenge; see the sequel. πρὸς μόραν, i.e. πρὸς μέρος in proportion; see the Lex. s. v. μέρος*. The verb is still *βάζει*; see on *v.* 566.—Wecklein enumerates more than twenty corrections of this verse, and it may be presumptuous to suggest that it is correct. In reality however the interpretation of the line has scarcely been attempted, the epic form *ἀδελφεόν* (in iambic verse) and the unknown *πρὸς μόραν* being taken as clear evidence of



ἐξυπτιάζων ὄμμα, Πολυνείκους βίαν,  
 δῖς τ' ἐν τελευτῇ τοῦνομ' ἐνδατούμενος  
 [καλεῖ λέγει δὲ τοῦτ' ἔπος διὰ στόμα]

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564. *ὄνομα.*

corruption. The possibility of the first it is scarcely necessary to prove, as many of the proposed corrections retain it; the language of the tragedians abounds with such irregularities; for example μέσος, the 'epic' form of μέσος, does not occur in the iambs of Aeschylus and Euripides, but in Sophocles several times. As to μόρα, it is a well-known word, a dialectic form of the poetic μοῖρα *part*, whose synonym in prose is μέρος. In normal Greek it is known only in its Spartan sense of a military *division*; but that it had once a wider use is proved, if there could be any doubt of it, by the derived verbal forms μεμορημένος etc. (see *Lex. s. v. μέρομαι*). The concurrence of these two peculiar forms ἀδελφεός and μόρα, each in its proper meaning, ought to satisfy us that both are genuine. A scribe does not blunder into correct and intelligible archaisms. What special association or other condition recommended the words here, we cannot expect to know; but many good reasons are easily conceivable.—τὸν ἀξιοθάνατον ἢ τὸν συμπράκτορα αὐτοῦ, Schol. The first is a wild guess at the supposed word προσμόραν (as if from μόρος *death*); the second may well be a correct *explanation* (ἢ συμπράκτορα αὐτοῦ, i.e. τοῦ Τυδέως, as *sharing his guilt*), wrongly taken for an *interpretation* by a succeeding commentator.

564. ὄμμα (Schütz), with *eyes upturned*: ἐξυπτιάζων, properly 'inverting', is a strong expression, denoting here pious horror, and characteristic also of the 'prophet'.—The Scholl. explain ὄνομα by a fictitious interpretation of ἐξυπτιάζων as ἀναπτύσσω, ἐτυμολογῶν, but the metre alone (see on v. 580) would almost suffice to justify the correction, which is

almost universally accepted. For the confusion of the words see Eur. *Or.* 1082, and Porson's note there.

565. *And twice at the close accenting the divided name: i.e. repeating the name Πολυνείκης, with stress upon its parts, so as to bring out the meaning 'contentious'. The curious word ἐνδατεῖσθαι, seems to have acquired the secondary meaning to emphasize or dwell upon, from the natural method of emphasis by separate pronunciation of words or syllables. Hesychius' ἐνδατούμενος· μεριζόμενος καὶ οἷονε· κακῶς λέγων σφοδρῶς is correct, except as to κακῶς, which is a hasty inference from some particular case. The word was neither good nor bad in sense; contrast on the one hand this passage, Eur. *H. F.* 218, Soph. *Trach.* 791 (where note that the same thing is spoken of in two aspects, so that the 'division' is of a kind rather different from this); and on the other hand Aesch. *frag.* 281 (Plato *Rep.* 383 A) δταν φῇ ἡ Θέτις τὸν Ἀπόλλω ἐν τοῖς αὐτῆς γάμοις ἄδοντα ἐνδατεῖσθαι τὰς εἰς εὐπαιδίας, where from the quotation following the sense is clearly 'to dwell upon with emphatic praise'. See also Soph. *O. T.* 205 ἐνδατεῖσθαι βέλη, where this meaning is admissible; others (see Jebb's note *ad loc.*) render it there 'be divided, scattered', though there is no positive authority for this.—ἐν τελευτῇ: at the end, not of the speech, the conclusion of which is cited below, but of the series of κακά, opprobrious terms like those of vv. 559—562.*

566. I bracket this line for the following reasons: (1) the effect of the stop after the first foot (a rare thing in polished iambic verse where the sense is continued from the previous line) is to throw more emphasis upon the word so

## ἡ τοῖον ἔργον καὶ θεοῖσι προσφιλές

placed; see v. 660, v. 498, where θεούς is opposed to ἄνδρας, and v. 365, where βρέμει is in its nature emphatic: but καλεῖ, so far from admitting emphasis, is useless, the sentence being already provided with a verb (see on v. 563). (2) the addition of διὰ στόμα to λέγει is as pointless as 'speaks with his lips' would be in English. (3) τοῦτ' ἔπος λέγειν is not good Aeschylean Greek for 'to speak as follows'; ἔπος, when used in this way, is not a speech but a *phrase* or formula of some kind, an exclamation or a 'proverb', such as ὁά in *Pers.* 126, ὦ δίκη ὦ θρόνοι τ' Ἑρυνύων in *Eum.* 513, ξὺν ἄλλοις πείσσομαι τὸ μόρσιμον in v. 250, ὦμοι in *P. V.* 1012, νίκην καὶ κακὴν τιμὰ θεός in v. 704, the formula for offerings to the dead in *Cho.* 92. (4) the context forbids the use of words of introduction; the ἄγγελος has already summarized the speech and given the words immediately preceding the citation (v. 565); after this the citation of the conclusion can only follow naturally if commenced *without preface*. (5) the causes of the interpolation are plain, the remoteness of the true verb (see on v. 563), and the common use of words of introduction; here the impressive opening is much improved by their absence. (6) on v. 567 the Scholl. give the note καθ' ὑπόκρισιν 'acted' or 'spoken in character' (see the *Lex. s. vv.* ὑπόκρισις, ὑποκριτής), indicating that here the ἄγγελος begins to speak as Amphiarus; this note is useless as the text stands, and must have been written before the spurious verse was inserted.

567. There is a difficulty here which deserves investigation. If τοῖον ἔργον is the subject of the sentence, how is καὶ to be taken? There is no authority for καὶ... τε=both...and: and if to avoid this we take καὶ not for both, but closely with θεοῖσι or θεοῖσι προσφιλές for *even*, we are driven to some artificial explanation,

such as 'acceptable even to the gods, *i.e.* not only to your fellow-citizens' (Paley). Moreover it is not idiomatic Greek to use the circumlocution τοῖον ἔργον, where τοῦτο would mean as much, still less to put it in the place of emphasis after ἡ. Robortello's conjecture ἡ θεῖον shows a true sense of the grammar and rhythm required. But we may satisfy the conditions without change, by taking τοῖον as a predicate. It is a familiar use of τοιοῦτος (τοῖος) to stand for a repeated adjective, particularly when a correspondence of qualities is to be marked, *e.g.* ἀνὴρ δίκαιος καὶ τοιαῦτα παθὼν a *just man justly treated*. In this context τοῖον, if predicate, stands for πολυεικές, implying that the deed answers to the name, and this πολυεικές, like Robortello's θεῖον, is ironical. It is taken (cf. πολύζηλος, πολύσθρις etc.) in its passive sense 'object of rivalry', so that πολυεικές ἔργον is an achievement 'to be competed for', *i.e.* *worthy of ambition*. This explanation, while solving the grammatical difficulty, has two other advantages: (1) it connects the citation with the emphasis laid on Polynices' name; and (2) it introduces a reference to the *intended* meaning of it, as distinguished from the sinister interpretation. The name was of course not intended to be inauspicious, but auspicious, signifying 'contended for' or 'coveted', by men as a friend and by women as a lover. And there is reason for referring to this primary meaning, since it is essential to the point of the other. If Πολυεικής as a proper name had naturally meant 'contentious', there would have been no τύχη in the character, and therefore nothing ominous in the name. So the resemblance between Ἑλένα and ἐλένας (*Ag.* 692) is ominous only because no one would have thought of it till instructed by the event.—θεοῖσι...μεθυστέροις is one phrase explaining τοῖον and therefore joined to it by καὶ. The con-

καλὸν τ' ἀκοῦσαι καὶ λέγειν μεθυστέροις,  
 πόλιν πατρώαν καὶ θεοὺς τοὺς ἐγγενεῖς  
 πορθεῖν, στράτευμ' ἐπακτὸν ἐμβεβληκότα.  
 μητρός τε πηγὴν τίς κατασβέσει δίκη,  
 πατρὶς δὲ γαῖα σῆς ὑπὸ σπουδῆς δορὶ  
 αἰλούσα πῶς σοι ξύμμαχος γενήσεται;  
 ἔγωγε μὲν δὴ τήνδε πιανῶ χθόνα,  
 μάντις κεκευθὼς πολεμίας ἐπὶ χθονός·

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struction is προσφιλες θεοῖσι καλὸν τε μεθυστέροις ἀκοῦσαι καὶ λέγειν.

571. 'As maternal blood cannot be staunched by any atonement, so and still more thy father-land can never' etc.—τε...

δὲ. The later mss., with more plausible ground than usual, restore regularity by changing δὲ to τε. With τε...τε the two cases are treated as precisely parallel. But τε...δὲ is admissible, if a climax be intimated, the two propositions being not merely coupled but compared or opposed: cf. Xen. *Hellen.* 6. 5. 30 οἱ δὲ Ἀρκάδες τούτων τε οὐδὲν ἐποίησαν, καταλιπόντες δὲ τὰ ὅπλα εἰς ἀρπαγὴν ἐτρέποντο, 'not content with neglecting this duty they' etc. (Kühner, *Gramm.* § 520, 3, where see other examples): and there is no reason why the speaker should not treat the second proposition as the stronger of the two. Note in both parts the free use of the rhetorical question where English would have the simple negative. μητρός πηγὴν: the genitive is that of equivalent or definition, *the mother is a fountain which no atonement will dry up*. From the style of this expression, and the manner of using it, it is plainly in substance an ancient *ἔπος* or maxim; and it dates, we may observe, from a time, when the mother, not the father, was specially or solely considered as the source of kinship, and the blood, for which satisfaction could not be made, was naturally described as 'mother's blood': πατρός, not μητρός, would have better suited the present parallel. (The existence in Hellas, generally or locally, of the mater-

nal system of kinship, is a fact to be distinguished from the debated question as to the existence of the 'matriarchate'. The legend of the *Eumenides* alone is sufficient proof that paternal kinship had at one time to fight for recognition, and was driven to strange weapons of controversy: cf. *Eum.* 660, and see M<sup>c</sup>Len-  
 nan *Kinship in Ancient Greece*.) The comparison of blood shed by wounding to a πηγὴ is the more natural, if, as the etymology suggests, πηγὴ originally meant not the water but the hole or 'piercing' through which it rose. (See the editor's note on Eur. *Med.* 410.)—To substitute πλῆγην (Seidler, followed by many editors) is to destroy the antique and picturesque colour of the phrase without making it any more correct; the equivalent in common language would be κατασβεσαι αἷμα; κατασβεσαι πλῆγην is scarcely sense, for a 'blow' cannot be 'dried up'.

574. τήνδε πιανῶ χθόνα, i.e. I shall be buried. Believing that he is destined to die (v. 604), he is assured that his sacred character will save his body from the outrage of exposure after death to the beasts and the birds of prey (δτιμον μόνον v. 576; for μόνος see on v. 408), a fate from which the others were saved, according to the story of Euripides' *Suppliants*, only by the interference of Athens, and which according to the older legend they underwent. See the *Introduction*.

575. ἐπὶ χθονός, on the border of the land. The significance of this phrase lies in the preposition, which should not have been changed, as in the later mss., to ὑπὸ.

μαχώμεθ', οὐκ ἄτιμον ἐλπίζω μόρον.  
 τοιαῦθ' ὁ μάντις ἀσπίδ' εὐκλήλων ἔχων  
 πάγχαλκον ἦῶδα, σῆμα δ' οὐκ ἐπὶν, κύκλῳ.

577. εὐκηλον.

Amphiaraus anticipates that the Thebans will give him as a respected enemy the sort of ambiguous sepulture outside their bounds, which (according to Sophocles) they proposed to give to Oedipus, whose body they were unwilling either to admit or, for certain oracular reasons, to part with. See Soph. *O. C.* 399 *ἸΣ. ὡς σ' ἄγχι γῆς στήσωσι Καδμείας... Οἱ. ἡ δ' ὠφέλῃσις τίς θύρασι κειμένου*; The prophecy moreover is thus made unconsciously exact; for Aeschylus knew that, as a fact, Amphiaraus was miraculously swallowed up by the earth at a place "on the right of the road as you go out of *Potniae into Thebes*" (*ἐκ τῶν Ποτνιαίων ἰοῦσιν ἐς Θήβας ἐν δεξιᾷ τῆς ὁδοῦ*, Pausanias 9. 8. 3). It was marked by an enclosure and pillars, and Pausanias was told that animals both wild and tame treated it with reverence. The selection of this place on the Theban border as the scene of the legend was probably influenced by the same feeling which is traceable here in the expectation of Amphiaraus.

577. *Thus spake the prophet, bearing a shield of plain bronze, without device upon it, to a ring of careless listeners; for his will is not to be thought the bravest but to be.* "Aeschylus counts it also a part of wisdom to be cool as to what is thought of us, not to be frightened this way and that, nor to be eager for the general applause; see his description of Amphiaraus,—*οὐ γὰρ δοκεῖν ἄριστος* and so on." (*Διοχύλος δὲ καὶ τὸ πρὸς δόξαν ἔχειν ἀτύφως, καὶ μὴ διασοβεῖσθαι, μηδὲ ἐπαίρεσθαι τοῖς παρὰ τῶν πολλῶν ἐπαίνοις, ἐν τῷ φρονεῖν τίθεται, περὶ τοῦ Ἀμφιαράου γράφων* "οὐ γὰρ δοκεῖν...βουλευμάτα", Plutarch *de audiendis poetis* p. 32 E, cited by Hermann.) The behaviour which calls forth this famous and splendid eulogy is, as

Plutarch says, the honesty of Amphiaraus in urging unpopular truths, though his audience is unsympathetic and his courage exposes him to the reproach of cowardice (see *v.* 369). There is nothing improbable in the story of Plutarch (*Aristides* c. 3) that at the reciting of these lines all eyes were turned upon the outspoken and disinterested opponent of the popular policy advocated by Themistocles; and at all events the language so aptly refutes a malignant interpretation of the name *Ἀριστ-εἰδής* (*ad speciem optimus, bravest in seeming*), that an allusion was almost certainly intended.—In *εὐκλήλων κύκλῳ* εὐκηλος has its proper sense, *unmoved, careless of his warnings*, the Latin *securus*: for *κύκλος* see Soph. *Ai.* 749 *κύκλος τυραννικός* the circle of princes debating, Eur. *Andr.* 1089 *ἐς κύκλους καὶ ξυστάσεις ἐχώρουν* they formed rings and knots, and the *Lex. s. v. κύκλος*. The emphasis thrown upon *κύκλῳ* is intentional; surrounded by opponents, he would still speak his mind.—*σῆμα δ' οὐκ ἐπὶν* (αὐτῇ): a parenthesis. The normal form of the sentence in prose would be *ἔχων ἀσπίδα πάγχαλκον, σῆμα δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ ἀσπίδι οὐκ ἔχων*: cf. *Ag.* 1286 *ἐπεὶ τὸ πρῶτον εἶδον Ἰλίου πόλιν πράξασαν ὡς ἐπραξεν, οἱ δ' εἶχον πόλιν, ...λοῦσα τλήσομαι τὸ κατθανεῖν* (i.e. *ἐπεὶ εἶδον μὲν τὴν πόλιν οὕτω πράξασαν, εἶδον δὲ ἐκείνους ἔχοντας αὐτήν, τλήσομαι κτλ.*), *v.* 800 *πόλιν μὲν εὖ πρᾶσσουσιν, οἱ δ' ἐπίσταται διελαχόν* (i.e. *τοὺς δὲ ἐπιστάτας διαλαχόντας*) and Kühner *Gr. Gram.* § 490.—The word *εὐκλήλων* is placed earlier in the sentence than it would naturally stand, because, if the sense were apparently complete before the parenthesis, the words *εὐκλήλων κύκλῳ* would come as a surprise. It may be ascertained by experiment that, if *εὐκλή-*

οὐ γὰρ δοκεῖν ἄριστος, ἀλλ' εἶναι θέλει,  
 βαθεῖαν ἄλοκα διὰ φρενὸς καρπούμενος,  
 ἐξ ἧς τὰ κεδνὰ βλαστάνει βουλευμάτα.  
 τούτῳ σοφούς τε κἀγαθοὺς ἀντηρέτας  
 πέμπειν ἐπαινω· δεινὸς ὃς θεοὺς σέβει.

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λων is to stand before the parenthesis, it cannot be placed otherwise than where it is. A more remarkable derangement of the regular order, and with less reason, occurs in Aristoph. *Thesm.* 811 οὐδ' ἂν κλέψασα γυνὴ ζεύγει κατὰ πεντήκοντα τάλαντα ἐς πόλιν ἔλθοι τῶν δημοσίων, i.e. κλέψασα τῶν δημοσίων κατὰ πεντήκοντα τάλαντα ἐς πόλιν ἔλθοι ζεύγει. Here no ambiguity results, as the genitive *εὐκῆλων* cannot be construed in any but the intended way.—The correction *εὐκῆλων* for *εὐκηλον*, with the corresponding punctuation, restores the metre with an irreducible minimum of alteration, and is strongly supported by the sense. It also explains *κύκλω*, which in the ms. and editions is joined to *ἐπῆν* in the supposed sense of *οὐδ*, i.e. *shield*. But this, as others have seen (*ἐπῆν σάκει* Dindorf, *ἐπῆν περίε* Lowinski), is bad Greek: *κύκλος* is not a synonym of *ἀσπίς*, nor is it the Greek habit, as in English and other modern languages, to use a synonym as a pronoun, nor with *κύκλω* should the preposition be *ἐπὶ*, but *ἐν*, as in Eur. *El.* 455 *ἀσπίδος ἐν κύκλω τοιάδε σήματα τετύχθαι*. Moreover with this punctuation the words οὐ γὰρ δοκεῖν κτλ. must naturally be referred to the absence of a device on the shield, which, though a suitable circumstance, is of very slight importance to the main purpose, as it is rightly explained by Plutarch.—*γρ(άφε) εὐκυκλον νέμων* (m) is merely a bad conjecture suggested by v. 629; *νέμων* has no meaning.—Of the numerous ancient citations of v. 579—581 several give *δικαίος* for *ἄριστος*, and it is possible, though the references do not prove it, that the variation is as old as Plato (see *Rep.* 361 B, 362 A and Hermann's note here). Pro-

bably, as Hermann supposes, the error sprang from the reference to Aristides, called *ὁ δίκαιος*, but the question scarcely concerns the text of Aeschylus, for *δικαίος* is irrelevant. It was, as Paley says, not *ἀδικία* but *ἀψυχία* (cowardice) of which Amphiarus was accused.

580. *ἄλοκα*: ὠλκα Krebs: which is probably correct, at least as to the intended pronunciation. The form is 'epic', i.e. belongs to the same mixed poetic vocabulary as *ἀδελφεός*. *βαθεῖαν κτλ.* *reaping in his thoughts the fruit of the deep furrow, from which good counsel grows*, literally 'by means of his mind'; or διὰ φρενὸς may be taken, as by Paley, with *βαθεῖαν ἄλοκα*, 'a furrow deep-ploughed in his mind'; but the first is better in rhythm, and note τὰ in v. 581, which indicates that *κεδνὰ βουλευμάτα*, and therefore *βαθεῖαν ἄλοκα*, is to be understood generally. Without metaphor, 'a sound judgment is the reward of independence; he who dares to see the truth, will see it'.

582. *ἀντηρέτας*, *an opponent*, not 'opponents'; the plural merely guards the expression from particular reference.

584. *Fie on the chance that governs the unions of mankind, and joins the just man with the wicked!* literally 'which joins mankind together, the just man with the wicked'. The remark is general, as *βροτοὺς* and the sequel show. The words *δικαίων ... δυσσεβεστέροις* stand, to use the phrase of the grammars, 'in apposition to' the 'cognate accusative' *ξυνάλλαξιν* implied in *ξυναλλάσσαντος βροτοῦς*, and describe the manner of the *ξυνάλλαξις*. In such a case as this the construction is familiar to English, e.g. 'the ships were fastened together, prow to prow'.—The use of the

ΕΤ. φεύ τοῦ ξυναλλάσσοντος ὄρνιθος βροτοῦς,  
 δίκαιον ἄνδρα τοῖσι δυσσεβεστέροις.  
 ἐν παντὶ πράγῃ δ' ἔσθ' ὁμίλιας κακῆς  
 κάκιον οὐδέν, καρπὸς οὐ κομιστέος·  
 ἄτης ἄρουρα θάνατον ἐκκαρπίζεται.  
 ἡ γὰρ ξυνεισβάς πλοῖον εὐσεβῆς ἀνὴρ  
 ναύτησι θερμοῖς καὶ πανουργία τινὶ  
 ὄλωλεν ἀνδρῶν σὺν θεοπτύστῳ γένει,  
 ἡ ξὺν πολίταις ἀνδράσιν δίκαιος ὦν  
 ἐχθροξένοις τε καὶ θεῶν ἀμνήμοσιν,  
 ταυτοῦ κυρήσας ἐκδίκως ἀγρεύματος,

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comparative in *δυσσεβεστέροις* is Greek but not English; it serves merely to contrast the *δυσσεβεῖς* with the *δίκαιος*, and means not 'more wicked than he' but 'not righteous as he'. Cf. Plat. *Phileb.* 55 D τὰ μὲν ὡς καθαρώτατα νομίζειν, τὰ δ' ὡς ἀκαθαρότερα *absolutely pure...not so pure, Rep.* 564 Β ἀνδρεῖάτων...ἀνανδρότερον and see Kühner *Gr. Gram.* § 349 b, note 2. In Latin the use is commoner, see e.g. Martial 12. 34. 7 *vincet candida turba nigriorem*.—The mistaken changes *βροτοῖς* (m') and *δυσσεβεστάτοις* (*recc.*) only perplex the sense and the construction.

587. *καρπὸς οὐ κομιστέος, the fruit is not worth the gathering, i.e. it produces only mischief.* The Schol. on v. 588 cites a proverb, *λέμης χωρίον ἢ τῶν πονηρῶν φίλια*.

588 is perhaps an illustrative quotation from some other passage, inserted in the text by mistake (Valckenaer). *ἐκκαρπίζεται* is passive, and the accusative *θάνατον* is 'in apposition to' the implied *καρπὸν*; *death is the harvest grown from the field of sin*, literally 'the field...has death grown from it as a harvest'.

589. *ἡ γὰρ...ἡ: sometimes...sometimes.*

590. *ναύτησι*, the Ionic form: so the MS. *ναύταισι* Blomfield. But in a passage of this kind we have no right to assume that the forms must all be normal. If the metaphor is borrowed—and nothing is more likely—from a familiar place in an older poet, a writer of *γνώμαι* for

example like Theognis, who used the very words *ναύτησι θερμοῖς*, this would be sufficient reason for preserving the archaism. It may of course be an error, but it may equally well be a touch of literary effect.—*πανουργία τινὶ: a rascal sort.* The use of the abstract *πανουργία* for *πανούργοι* is modelled on the common collectives *πρεσβεία* (*πρέσβεις*), *ὑπηρεσία* (*ὑπηρέται*), *φυγὴ* (*φυγάδες*), etc.; cf. Kühner *Gr. Gram.* § 346. 3: *τινὶ* (cf. the Latin use of *quidam*) serves to accommodate to the ear an exceptional expression; literally 'a sort of rascality'. The abstract form is specially appropriate, because it is in their collective or average character as a *γένος* (see v. 591) that the wicked companions are fatal. The individual is lost in the *class*.

591. *ἀνδρῶν*, antithetic to *ἀνὴρ* in v. 589; so also *ἀνδρῶν* in v. 592.

594: *being strangely found with them when they are taken, falls undistinguished by the trident-stroke of fate.* *ἐκδίκως, irregularly, unnaturally, i.e. out of the common course of his associations; for δίκη in the sense of 'nature, the common course of things', see Eur. Med. 410 ἄνω ποταμῶν ἱερῶν χωροῖσι παγὰ, καὶ δίκᾳ καὶ πάντα πάλιν στρέφεται*, and the editor's note there: also Hermann on *ἐνδίκως* cited below. *ἐνδίκως* is the reading of some later MSS., and was probably intended by the correctors to mean *justly*; it is, however, as Hermann says, admissible in

πληγὲς θεοῦ μάστιγι παγκοίνῳ δάμη.  
 οὕτως δ' ὁ μάντις, νῖδον Οἰκλέους λέγω,  
 σῶφρων δίκαιος ἀγαθὸς εὐσεβὴς ἀνὴρ,  
 μέγας προφήτης, ἀνοσίοισι συμμαγείς,  
 θρασυστόμοισιν ἀνδράσιν βία φρενῶν.  
 τείνουσι πομπὴν τὴν μακρὰν πάλιν μολεῖν,

595

600

599. ἀνδράσι.

the sense of *naturally, in due course* (see Eur. *Iph. A.* 366 ἐξεχώρησαν κακῶς, τὰ μὲν ὑπὸ γνώμης πολιτῶν ἀσυνέτου, τὰ δ' ἐνδίκως, ἀδύνατοι γεγῶτες αὐτοὶ διαφυλάξασθαι πόλιν, and cf. the Latin *ut aequum est, as might be expected*, Plaut. *Rud.* 2. 2. 7). That the righteous is found by fate among the guilty may be called either 'natural' or 'unnatural'; it is the 'natural' result of his 'unnatural' association with them. *Justly* and *unjustly* are not to the point, the passage relating, as Hermann says, not to injustice (or justice), but to the 'tristis necessitas, quae insontem addit scelestis'.—ἐκδίκους Prien, depending on ταῦτοῦ.

595. μάστιγι, properly a 'fork' or 'two-headed prong'; cf. the διπλὴ μάστιξ διλογχὸς ἄτη of *Ag.* 647. Here it is an instrument like the trident, used for killing fish when captured in a net. The word is probably connected remotely with μάσταξ (*a pair of jaws*), μαστιχάομαι, etc. It must, however, have been restricted in common use from early times to the 'two-pointed goad', in which sense it occurs in Soph. *frag.* 964 δταν δὲ δαίμων ἀνδρὸς εὐτυχούς τὸ πρὶν μάστιγι ἐρείσῃ τοῦ βίου παλιντροπον (where the epithet παλιντροπος, *reverted* so as to present the point, shows that a *goad*, not a *whip*, is meant; the translation *whip* has led to difficulties and corrections). So also in Soph. *Ai.* 1254, where an ox is driven with a μάστιγι, and in *P. V.* 708 οἰστρόπληξ μάστιγι θείῃ, where the comparison to the gad-fly's sting points to the meaning *goad*. *Whip*, though eventually established as the sole meaning, was pro-

bably in the first instance a false use by analogy from *goad*.—ἐδάμη: 'gnomic' aorist of that which commonly happens.

596. οὕτως δὲ: *and so shall it be with* etc. The verb (δαμήσεται or the like) is to be supplied from the previous sentences. See on v. 601.

ἰδ. νῖδον Οἰκλέους λέγω. The purpose of this parenthesis is to mark at once that ὁ μάντις is not to be taken in the general sense of 'the prophet', *i.e.* a prophet as such, which the previous context would rather suggest. See v. 259 and note.

598. ἀνοσίοισι, a substantive, having θρασυστόμοισιν ἀνδράσιν in apposition to it.

599. θρασυστόμοις βία φρενῶν: *bold with their lips in despite of sense, i.e. wilfully suppressing the suggestions of their better judgments*. It is possible also to take the words with συμμαγείς, 'joined with them despite his better judgment', but the position of βία φρενῶν is strongly against this, nor would συμμαγείς be the right word to express it. Amphiarus is 'confused with' the rest, so that fate will not distinguish him.

600. *They are travelling that far journey whence 'tis a long way back*, a significant euphemism for a journey 'to the country from whose bourn no traveller returns', in plain language 'they are on their road to destruction'. The infinitive πάλιν μολεῖν depends, as an explanation, upon μακρὰν, 'long to return from'. τείνουσι, literally *make long*.—The later mss. have spoilt this expressive phrase and caused much perplexity, by adopting the bad correction πῶλον, on the assumption

Διός θ' ἐλόντος συγκαθελκυσθήσεται.  
 δοκῶ μὲν οὖν σφε μὴδὲ προσβαλεῖν πύλαις—  
 οὐχ ὡς ἄθυμος, οὐδὲ λήματος κάκη,  
 ἀλλ' οἶδεν ὥς σφε χρή τελευτῆσαι μάχη,  
 εἰ καρπὸς ἔσται θεσφάτοισι Λοξίου.  
 φιλεῖ δὲ σιγᾶν ἢ λέγειν τὰ καίρια,—  
 ὅμως δ' ἐπ' αὐτῷ φῶτα, Λασθένους βίαν,

605

601. θέλωντος.

604. ὡς σφε.

that Aeschylus might use τὴν μακρὰν πόλιν for Hades. The confused note of the Schol. ἐπὶ τὴν εἰς "Αἶδην ἀποικίαν ἐλκυσθήσεται—μολεῖν τὴν ἐναντίαν τῇ (τὴν?) εἰς "Αργος, is perhaps a combination of two; but the last part of it clearly assumes the reading πάλιν, and is approximately right.

601. Διός θ' ἐλόντος (αὐτοῦς): and when Zeus takes them, he will be dragged down also. The verbs ἐλεῖν, ἐλκυσθῆναι take up again the metaphor of the ἄγρευμα: see v. 594.—The letters here (θέλωντος) are ambiguous, but the tenor of the passage shows that the division and accentuation adopted in the MS. is wrong. According to the orthodox Greek theology, as here set forth, God does *not* either 'will', or properly speaking 'permit', that the righteous should perish with the wicked; but by the perverse entanglements of chance the one is sometimes involved in the punishment of the other. It must be remembered that neither the popular nor the critical philosophy of the Greeks supposed the divine power to be omnipotent or omniscient.—In συγκαθελκυσθήσεται there is an unconscious prophecy of the manner of Amphiaraus' end (Paley); but Eteocles is entirely mistaken in supposing that 'Zeus' will be misled in his award: see v. 616 and the Introduction.—vv. 596—601 are commonly taken, with the reading θέλωντος, as one sentence, τεινοῦσι being then the dative participle. But the long suspension of the syntax has an awkward effect.

602. μὴδὲ *not even, not at all.*

603. ὡς ἄθυμος *i.e. ἐστὶ; not because he is without spirit.*—ἄθυμον Turnebus.

604. *but he knows how he (or perhaps rather they) must end in the fight, i.e. what the result of battle is destined to be.* Not 'that he will die', though this is of course suggested by the words. A prose writer would have said ὅπως σφισι χρή τελευτῆσαι τὴν μάχην.

606 is taken in two ways: (1) 'but he (Amphiaraus) is wont to be silent or to speak what is in season', *i.e.* not to speak, when what is suitable cannot be usefully said, or (2) 'and he (Apollo) is wont to say nothing or speak to the mark', *i.e.* always speaks truly; see the *Lex. s. v. καιρός*. The first is better, both because, according to the second interpretation, there is no point in the alternative σιγᾶν; and also because there is no evidence for the second sense of καιρίως, while *Cho.* 580 σιγᾶν θ' ὅπου δεῖ καὶ λέγειν τὰ καίρια is strong evidence for the usual sense in this very connexion. The point of the verse is to explain why Amphiaraus, with foreknowledge of the doom destined for the Argive army, is not now more explicit. He will not spend more warnings on those who will not listen. (Paley illustrates καιρίως *true* by v. 1 as well as *Cho.* 580, but *Cho.* 580 is against it, and on v. 1 see note there.)

607. ἐπ' αὐτῷ, neuter, for ἐπ' αὐτῷ τοῦτῳ *over and above*, lit. 'above the thing itself', *i.e.* as a security in addition to the improbability of an attack; not 'against him'; if the pronoun were expressed at all,



ἐχθρόξενον πυλωρὸν ἀντιτάξομεν,  
γέροντα τὸν νοῦν, σάρκα δ' ἡβώσαν φύσει,  
ποδῶκες ὄμμα, χεῖρα δ' οὐ βραδύνεται  
παρ' ἀσπίδος γυμνωθὲν ἀρπάσαι δόρυ.  
θεοῦ δὲ δῶρόν ἐστιν εὐτυχεῖν βροτούς.

610

ΧΟ. κλύοντες θεοὶ δικαίας λιτὰς  
ἡμετέρας τελεῖθ', ὥς πόλις εὐτυχῇ,  
δορίπωνα κάκ' ἐκτρέπον-  
τες γὰς ἐπιμόλους· πύργων δ' ἔκτοθεν  
βαλὼν Ζεὺς σφε κανοὶ κεραυνῶ.

ἀντ. γ'.

615

which according to Aeschylus' manner of writing it should not be, the simple dative αὐτῷ not ἐπ' αὐτῷ would be the correct construction with ἀντιτάξομεν. Cf. v. 431.

609. The use of σάρξ to describe the man himself, *muscle* for 'a muscular frame', is bold and irregular, though conceivable.—A much simpler reading is φύει Wellauer: *old in mind but keeping still the muscle of vigorous manhood*: the symmetrical construction would require φύοντα: for the variation see on v. 578 and cf. the next line. φύει 'grows' has its full sense, implying that waste has not begun to gain upon vitality.

610. ποδῶκες ὄμμα a *swift-foot eye*, i.e. a quick eye. A comparison with the similar passage at v. 541 (see note) gives ground for supposing that here also the striking peculiarity of phrase is to be explained by reference to the warrior's device; which combines the foot and the eye, as that of Actor the hand and the eye, in a hieroglyphic to which the expression of Eteocles furnishes the interpretation.

ib. *neither is his hand slow to surprise the moment when the spear is uncovered by the shield*. The words δόρυ and ἀσπίς are used, as in many military phrases (see the *Lex. s. vv.*), for the two hands or sides, here of the covered left and the uncovered right of the warrior himself; the object of ἀρπάσαι is not δόρυ but γυμνωθὲν παρ' ἀσπίδος δόρυ, 'the uncovering of the spear by the shield', i.e.

the moment when the enemy, by his movement, leaves his right clear of the covering shield. For this use of the substantive and participle, very common in Latin but rare in Greek, cf. Pind. *Pyth.* xi. 22 πότερόν νιν ἄρ' Ἰφιγένεια σφαχθεῖσα τῇλε πάτρας ἔκνισεν; 'the sacrificing of Iphigenia', and other examples in Gildersleeve's Pindar, *Introd.* p. cxiii. For ἀρπάσαι, 'to snatch, seize an opportunity', cf. ἀρπάσαι πείραν Soph. *Ai.* 2. If δόρυ be taken literally and separated from γυμνωθὲν, it is hard to give ἀρπάσαι δόρυ any reasonable sense.

615. There is some error here. The metre is perfectly defensible (see *Appendix*), but not so the construction ἐκτρέπειν κακὰ ἐπιμόλους. Moreover the elision of the pyrrhic (—) κακά, very rare in Aeschylus, is here peculiarly ugly before ἐκ. The εἰς superscribed by *m*' is probably but an explanation. Perhaps κατεκτρέποντες γὰς ἐπιμόλους: in that case δορίπωνα would be construed with εὐτυχῇ, 'may prosper in the struggle of war'. See further Wecklein's *Appendix*.

616. ἔκτοθεν: *from his place without the wall*: apparently this gate had near it a figure of Zeus (Ομολῶϊος), cf. v. 488. This prayer is fulfilled to the letter. Amphiarus is put out of the land and is slain (in a manner) by the thunderbolt of Zeus, see on v. 575 and *Introduction*. And yet he is rewarded and not punished with the guilty.

ΑΓ. τὸν ἑβδομον δὴ τόνδ' ἐφ' ἐβδόμαις πύλαις  
λέξω, τὸν αὐτοῦ σοῦ κασίγνητον, πόλει  
οἶός γ' ἀράται καὶ κατεύχεται τύχας·  
πύργους ἐπεμβὰς κάπικηρυχθεὶς χθονί,

620

620. οἱ \* γ' ἀράται—οἶας m'.

618. τὸν ἑβδομον...τόνδε *the seventh and last*. τόνδε indicates the close of the series, the unit at the 'hither' end of it, so to speak. So in the list of the successive occupants of the oracle of Delphi (*Eum.* i. foll.), Apollo is described (*v.* 18) as τέταρτον τόνδε μάντιν 'fourth and last'. δὴ (*now*) conveys the same meaning: 'Now am I arrived in my story to the seventh champion for the Seventh gate'.—On the name ἑβδομαι, and on the crisis of the plot at this point, see the *Introduction*. Note the peculiar even rhythm of *v.* 618 (see on *v.* 996) and the unusual division at λέξω (see on *v.* 566).

620. οἶός γ' ἀράται. This, the original reading of the MS. (for the accentuation shows that the erased letters were *ος*), is much better than the *οἶας γ'* or *οἶας* afterwards substituted and now appearing in many texts. The construction is λέξω αὐτὸν πόλει τοιοῦτον γε οἶος ἀράται καὶ κατεύχεται τύχας αὐτῇ, literally 'as for the seventh champion, I shall describe him just (γε) such an one to the town as he is in his curses and imprecations upon her', or in English form, 'for the seventh champion, what a foe our city has in him, will enough appear by his curses upon her'. The dative πόλει is the pivot of the sentence, being related, in the different ways which the flexible use of the case permits, to λέξω, to τοιοῦτον οἶος, and to ἀράται...τύχας.

621. (*he prays*) that *he, her proscrip-  
t outlaw, may set foot upon her walls and  
shout his cheer of triumph over her fall,  
then meet with thee and, if he may slay  
thee, die together, or, if thou livest, punish  
thee, his dethroner and banisher, with  
exile so and likewise as he suffers now.*

This sentence, the prayer of Polynices, is in dependence on ἀράται...τύχας, the infinitives *ξυμφέρεισθαι, θανεῖν, τίσασθαι* representing the original optatives *ξυμφοροίμην, θάνοιμι, τισαίμην*. This use of the infinitive is important to remember; it has been missed, for example, in the well-known passage of the *Prometheus* (690), the response of the oracle to Inachus respecting Io, *σαφῶς ἐπισκῆπτουσα...ἔξω δόμων...ὠθεῖν ἐμέ· κελ μὴ θέλοι, πυρωπὸν ἐκ Διὸς μολεῖν κεραυνόν, δς πᾶν ἐξαιστώσει γένος*. This *μολεῖν* is often cited (see above on *v.* 415) as an aorist without *ἄν* used for a future, as if the original form of the oracle would be *εἰ μὴ θέλοις, μόλοι ἄν*. But such a form would be weak and unsuitable: *μολεῖν* correctly represents not *μόλοι ἄν* but *μόλοι*, an imprecation; if *ἐξαιστώσει*, the reading of the MS., were to be changed at all, it should be changed not for *ἐξαιστώσαι*, as in many texts, but for *ἐξαιστώσαις*, the optative of the aorist. It is however right as it stands, the original form being *εἰ μὴ θέλεις, μόλοι κεραυνός, δς ἐξαιστώσει*, 'if thou dost refuse, I call upon thee the thunderbolt, which must destroy etc.'; the original tense of the dependent clause is retained, as often, in the oblique form.

κάπικηρυχθεὶς: this qualifies, as a concessive or antithetic clause, the participle *ἐπεμβὰς*, to which *ἐπεξιακχάσας* serves as principal verb: *καὶ* is not a copula, but equivalent to *καίπερ* 'setting foot upon her walls in spite of her proscription'. To get this sense, Weil reads *κάποκηρυχθεὶς χθονός*, but it does not appear that the change is required: *ἐπικηρύττειν τινι* (*θάνατον, χρήματα*) is 'to proscribe a person under penalty of death', or 'to set a price upon his head'. The corresponding passive *ὁ*

ἀλώσιμον παῖαν' ἐπεξιακχάσας,  
 σοὶ ξυμφέρεσθαι καὶ κτανὼν θανεῖν πέλας,  
 ἢ ζῶντ' ἀτιμαστῆρα τῶς ἀνδρηλάτην  
 φυγῇ τὸν αὐτὸν τόνδε τίσασθαι τρόπον.  
 τοιαῦτ' αὐτεῖ καὶ θεοὺς γενεθλίους  
 καλεῖ πατρώας γῆς ἐποπτῆρας λιτῶν  
 τῶν ὧν γενέσθαι πάγχυ Πολυνείκους βίᾱ.

625

628. βίᾱ—βίαι m.

*ἐπικηρυχθεῖς* for the proscribed person is cited only from Dion Cassius (see *Lxx. s.v.*) and would doubtless not have been used by a writer of the classic prose language. But in this as in other respects the inartistic carelessness of decadent prose only reproduces the artistic irregularity of ancient poetry; cf. Soph. *El.* 114 τοὺς εὐνάς ὑποκλεπτομένους 'husbands whose rights are stolen', Eur. *Med.* 838 αἰεὶ ἐπιβαλλομένην χαλταῖσιν ῥοδίων πλόκον ἀνθέων 'with ever a wreath of roses flung upon her hair', and even a passive of *ἐρείπω* (*to be fallen upon*) in Hes. *Theog.* 704, of Heaven coming down to the embrace of Earth, τῆς μὲν ἐρειπομένης τοῦ δ' ὕψοθεν ἐξεριπνόντος. The interpretation derived from the later scholia 'being proclaimed king' cannot be justified by the use of the word, and, if it could, would not be suitable to the passage. *χθονί* is constructed as a dative of relation (ethic) with the whole phrase *πύργοις...ἐπικηρυχθεῖς*: a prose writer would have used the possessive (*πύργοις χθονός*) but see parallels in *vv.* 167, 264, 907.

624. *ἀτιμαστῆρα* adjective to *ἀνδρηλάτην*, in the full sense, 'depriving him of his τιμαί, or prerogative'. Blomfield removes the superfluity of expression, but also some of the emphasis, by reading *ἀνδρηλατῶν*.

626. *θεοὺς γενεθλίους...ἐποπτῆρας*: more particularly the river-gods of the 'Dircaean stream', close by whose waters he stood (*vv.* 259 note, 365). The river-gods, as sources of growth, were specially the patrons of the youth of the country, and received offerings (*θρεπτήρια*) as such.

Cf. the adjuration of Polynices to Oedipus in Sophocles (*O. C.* 1335) *πρὸς νῦν σε κρηνῶν καὶ θεῶν ὁμογνίων*, and Jebb's note there.

*ib.* And calls the birth-gods of his father-land to be witnesses perforce to the prayers of him, in very truth a Polynices. *γενέσθαι βίᾱ* to become witnesses perforce, because, as actually present (see the previous note), they could not but hear. The insult thus forced upon them announces his desperate intention. The ms. has *βίᾱ*, but that this is an error and that the first corrector rightly replaced the dative is proved by the scholium *βοηθοὺς γενέσθαι τοὺς θεοὺς ἐπεύχεται παντελῶς τῇ βίᾱ αὐτοῦ ὁ Πολυνείκης*, though the explanation is not quite exact.—*τῶν ὧν πάγχυ Πολυνείκους*. These (*τῶν ἐμῶν πάγχυ Πολυνείκους*) are the words of Polynices himself. There is a strong emphasis on *τῶν ὧν*, without which indeed the possessive would be superfluous and would not have been used. The prayers are *his* prayers, and he is *Polynices*. He accepts the reproach of Amphiarus (*v.* 564) and converts it into a declaration of his irreconcilable enmity. With *βίᾱ* the meaning would be the same; but Polynices could scarcely describe himself as he would thus appear to do, by the periphrasis *II. βίᾱ*. For *πάγχυ* altogether cf. *πανδίκως v.* 657 and *κάρτα* in *v.* 645 etc. The name *Πολυνείκης*, used significantly, is naturally constructed as an adjective.—The modern editions accept *βίᾱ*, taking *II. βίᾱ* to be merely an appellative used by the *ἄγγελος*, and joining *πάγχυ* (in that

ἔχει δὲ καινοπηγῆς εὐκυκλον σάκος  
 διπλοῦν τε σῆμα προσμεμηχανημένον.  
 χρυσήλατον γὰρ ἄνδρα τευχιστὴν ἰδεῖν  
 ἄγει γυνή τις σωφρόνως ἡγουμένη.  
 Δίκη δ' ἄρ' εἶναι φησίν, ὥς τὰ γράμματα  
 λέξει, κατὰξω δ' ἄνδρα τόνδε καὶ πόλιν  
 ἔξει πατρώων δομάτων τ' ἐπιστροφάς.

630

635

case not an appropriate word) with γε-  
 νέσθαι. But the attempts made (see  
 Wecklein) to get rid of *v.* 628, which in  
 fact has thus no use or meaning at all,  
 show that this view has not proved satis-  
 factory.

629. εὐκυκλον σάκος. Note that εὐ-  
 κυκλον *round* is a mere fixed (epic) epithet  
 of a shield as such, while καινοπηγῆς is  
 joined with ἔχει as part of the predicate.  
 It is because εὐκυκλον has no separate  
 force, but merges in the substantive, that  
 a second adjective is used without a  
 copula. A schol. is therefore wrong in  
 wishing to substitute for εὐκυκλον an epi-  
 thet having more point—γρ(άφε) εὐθετον,  
 ἢ ἡ εὐβάστακτον (*light to carry*). θεῖναι  
 γὰρ τὸ ἀναλαβεῖν λέγουσιν Ἀπτικοί. καὶ  
 'ὄπλα ἔθεντο' ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀνέλαβον. It will be  
 noticed that the commentator did not find  
 εὐθετον in his MS., but suggests it himself.  
 The illustrations which he cites for it are  
 of course mistaken: θεῖναι is not syno-  
 nymous with ἀναλαβεῖν, nor ἔθεντο with  
 ἀνέλαβον, nor are θεῖναι and θέσθαι used  
 indifferently. In itself εὐθετον σάκος a  
*light shield* is a natural expression enough,  
 though scarcely to the purpose here.—  
 καινοπηγῆς. There is a difficulty in this  
 word, noticed by one of the later copy-  
 ists (Par. L, see Hermann), who writes  
 καινοπληγῆς (for *newly-hammered*). The  
 shield of Polynices must surely be,  
 like all the rest, of metal and forged;  
 but on the other hand, no good Greek  
 writer, it is perhaps safe to say, could use  
 πηγύναι (*nailing, carpentry*) for the pro-  
 cess of *forging*. Two possible expla-  
 nations occur: (1) *new-hardened, i. e.*

scarcely cool from the fire, from πεπη-  
 γέναι in the sense of *to become solid*. As  
 it seems to be suggested that the shield  
 had been made, or at least redecorated  
 for the occasion, there is no external im-  
 probability in this; but it would be appro-  
 priate rather to *casting* than to *forging*;  
 (2) From προσμεμηχανημένον in *v.* 630  
 compared with *v.* 528 προσμεμηχανημένην  
 γόμοις it seems that the figures on this  
 shield also are moveable, ἐκκρονστα, and  
 attached by γόμοφοι (see note there). As  
 πηγύναι in ordinary use means 'to  
 make with γόμοφοι (nails)', καινοπηγῆς  
 may well mean, 'with a new apparatus  
 of γόμοφοι', so that *new-drilled* would be  
 an approximate rendering. In this case  
 what is new in the shield is the symbolic  
 decoration.

631. τευχιστὴν ἰδεῖν: *in armed guise*.  
 ἰδεῖν explanatory infinitive.

632. γυνή τις a woman figure—σω-  
 φρόνως ἡγουμένη *calmly going before, i. e.*  
 with the dignified bearing of one who is  
 sure of her cause. σωφρόνως ἡσκημένη  
 (Butler) *in decent garb* is surely a mis-  
 taken change.

633. δῖα implies that the narrator  
 does not accept her declaration.

634. λέξει: emphasized by the rhythm  
 and pause (see on *v.* 566)—*as the inscrip-  
 tions will declare*, if they are to be be-  
 lieved. See the previous note.—The  
 later copies substitute λέγει, not for the  
 better. The future, 'will tell you, when  
 you read them', is quite intelligible and,  
 after φησίν, more agreeable to the ear.—  
 κατὰξω: the remainder of the inscription  
 is quoted in the very words.

τοιαύτ' ἐκείνων ἐστὶ τάξευρήματα  
 σὺ δ' αὐτὸς ἤδη γινῶθι—τίνα πέμπειν δοκεῖ;  
 ὥς οὔ ποτ' ἀνδρὶ τῷδε κηρυκευμάτων  
 μέμνη, σὺ δ' αὐτὸς γινῶθι ναυκληρεῖν πόλιν.

ET. ὦ θεομανές. [τε καὶ θεῶν μέγα στύγος]

640

ὦ πανδάκρυτον ἄμὸν Οἰδίπου γένος·  
 ὦμοι, πατρὸς δὴ νῦν ἀραὶ τελεσφόροι.  
 ἀλλ' οὔτε κλαίειν οὔτ' ὀδύρεσθαι πρέπει,

636—638. The difficulties found in these verses (see Wecklein) have arisen, I think, entirely from miscomprehension of the plot and of the situation at this point. See the *Introduction*. The man hesitates and apologizes, because he perceives from the demeanour of the king and the bystanders that something terrible has happened, and cannot understand what it is.

637. ἤδη from this point, his duty of reporting being at an end.—γινῶθι *decide*; for the formula, a disclaimer of responsibility, cf. Eur. *Med.* 1222 καὶ μοι τὸ μὲν σὸν ἐκπῶδων ἔστω λόγου, γνώσει γὰρ αὐτὴ ζημίας ἀποστροφὴν.—τίνα πέμπειν δοκεῖ; It is more grammatical and more effective to take this as an independent, not a dependent, question, interrupting the main sentence, which would have concluded as it eventually concludes in v. 639. Cf. τίς ξυστήσεται; in v. 422.

640. Paley observes truly that Aeschylus hardly ever commences the iambic senarius with a dactyl except in proper names, though the MS. gives an example in *Cho.* 215 καὶ τίνα σύννοισθά μοι καλουμένη βροτῶν; (τίνα ξύννοισθα?), and thinks the present verse probably spurious. As it stands, it can scarcely be correct: θεῶν μέγα στύγος must be intended for θεοῖς μέγα στυγούμενον *deeply hated of the gods*; but where is such a use of μέγας to be found? Soph. *O. C.* 439 μείζω κολαστὴν is different, and itself doubtful (see Jebb's note); Eur. *Med.* 549 μέγας φίλος means not 'a great friend' in the English sense, but 'a

powerful friend'. On the other hand there is no apparent motive for the interpolation. My own belief, as indicated in the text, is that the words ὦ θεομανές are genuine, and no more, the passionate interjection standing, like φεῦ, αἰαί, and the rest, *extra metrum*, and being followed by a pause. That tragedy allowed such broken lines in suitable places we know from Sophocles *O. T.* 1468, where there are three within a short space ἴθ' ὠναξ—τί φημι;—λέγω τι;—and in Eur. *Med.* 1122 we have probably another—Μήδεια, φεῦγε, φεῦγε—which like this has been filled up. The preservation of those in the *Oedipus* is only due to the fact that there are three of them, and that the first is not even part of a verse. This opinion is strengthened by the schol.—ὦ θεοῖς ἐπιμαϊνόμενε· ἐπιστρατεύη γὰρ πατρίδι καὶ πατρώοις θεοῖς (though the explanation is not correct: see the *Introduction*). The writer took θεομανές to be masculine, referring to Polynices, and this commends itself as right; but as the MS. now runs it would scarcely occur to any one to separate v. 640 from v. 641. The note therefore is older than the interpolation, and justifies us in omitting it. It will be observed that the scholium entirely ignores the interpolated words, though they require explanation at least as much as ὦ θεομανές.

641. ἄμὸν *our*: see on v. 404; *we*, the offspring of Oedipus.

643. κλαίειν of personal laments, δυσφορώτερος γόος in the event of the capture of the town.

μὴ καὶ τεκνωθῇ δυσφορώτερος γόος.  
 ἐπωνύμῳ δὲ κάρτα, Πολυνείκει λέγω,  
 τάχ' εἰσόμεσθα τοῦπίσημ' ὅποι τελεί,  
 εἴ νιν κατὰξει χρυσότευκτα γράμματα  
 ἐπ' ἀσπίδος φλύοντα, συμφόιτῳ φρενῶν.  
 εἰ δ' ἡ Διὸς παῖς παρθένος Δίκη παρῆν  
 ἔργοις ἐκείνου καὶ φρεσίν, τάχ' ἂν τόδ' ἦν.  
 ἀλλ' οὔτε νιν φυγόντα μητρόθεν σκότον,  
 οὔτ' ἐν τροφαῖσιν, οὔτ' ἐφηβήσαντά πω,  
 οὔτ' ἐν γενείου ξυλλογῇ τριχώματος,  
 Δίκη προσεῖδε καὶ κατηξιώσατο.  
 οὐδ' ἐν πατρώας μὴν χθονὸς κακουχία

645

650

655

645. πολυνείκει final ει over an erasure.

654. προσεῖπε.

655. οὐτ'.

645. Πολυνείκει: this form differs slightly from the natural accusative, as in v. 594 (to which it is changed in the later MSS.). It is not 'I mean him called Polynices' but 'by ἐπωνύμῳ κάρτα I mean κάρτα πολυνεικέ'. See vv. 564, 628, 665.

646. τελεί future.

648. A fine and effective specimen of the alliteration upon π, φ, which occurs from time to time in this play. See the introductory speech.—συμφόιτῳ φρενῶν: his mad pair of wanderers, viz. the figures of Right and the warrior represented upon his shield. For the form of σύμφουτος, an adjective used as substantive, cf. περί-φοιτος, and for the construction with it of the genitive (of 'respect' or 'ablative'?) φρενῶν cf. παράκοπος φρενῶν and the like. The description 'wanderers' is of course literally as well as metaphorically appropriate to the exiles. συμφόιτῳ φρενῶν is in apposition to χρυσότευκτα γράμματα, or rather is substituted for it as a description of the whole ἐπίσημα. It must be remembered that the figures as well as the letters are χρυσότευκτα (v. 631) and that all are γράμματα, which in the Greek sense of γράφειν, includes anything 'drawn', and not merely 'writing'.—A schol. saw that γράμματα has this larger meaning—οὐκ εἶπεν θεός

(i.e. Δίκη) ἢ ἄνθρωπος (i.e. the ἀνὴρ τευχηστής) ἀλλὰ τὰ χρυσὰ γράμματα. The corrector m' has gone far to spoil this verse by the marginal note σὺν φόιτῳ, from which and his gloss μανία comes the current reading σὺν φόιτῳ: apart from the injury to the sense, σὺν is misused, and φόιτος (distraction) is a word not known to exist and not regularly formed. The verb is φοιτάω (not φοιτέω) and the substantive, if it was used, would naturally be φόιτη.

651. φυγόντα i.e. when new-born. φεύγοντα Blomfield, in the act of birth. μητρόθεν σκότον i.e. τὸν ἐν τῇ μητρὶ σκότον: cf. Eum. 668, Pind. Ol. VI. 43, Nem. I. 35.

654. προσεῖδε B. Martini. εἶδεν αὐτὸν καὶ ἐφίλησεν Schol., from which it appears that προσεῖπε is an error or correction. Either looked upon or greeted is good in sense.—κατηξιώσατο owned, recognised, the affirmative contrary to ἀπηξιώσατο disowned; cf. the analogy of κατάρχημι (affirm) ἀπόφημι (deny). The verb might also mean condescended (see ἀξιοῦσθαι), with προσιδεῖν or προσεῖπεν supplied, but the other construction is simpler.—Weil reads κοῦκ ἀπηξιώσατο, but if we may trust the analogy cited the text is really equivalent to this.

οἶμαί νιν αὐτῷ νῦν παραστατεῖν πέλας,  
 ἢ δῆτ' ἂν εἴη πανδίκως ψευδώνυμος  
 Δίκη, ξυνοῦσα φωτὶ παντόλμῳ φρένας.  
 τούτοις πεποιθὼς εἶμι καὶ ξυστήσομαι  
 αὐτός· τίς ἄλλος μᾶλλον ἐνδικώτερος;  
 ἄρχοντί τ' ἄρχων καὶ κασιγνήτῳ κάσις,  
 ἐχθρὸς σὺν ἐχθρῷ στήσομαι. φέρ' ὥς τάχος—  
 [κνημίδας, αἰχμῆς καὶ πετρῶν προβλήματα.]

660

ΧΟ. μῆ, φίλτατ' ἀνδρῶν, Οἰδίπου τέκος, γένη  
 ὀργὴν ὁμοῖος τῷ κάκιστ' αὐδωμένῳ·

665

657. ἦδητ'.

663. πετρῶν accent erased over ε.

656. αὐτῷ νῦν. The pronoun is emphatic and with νῦν would be approximately rendered in English by *his present self* or *him as he now is*. Δίκη, having never favoured him in previous conditions, will not choose just his present enterprise to commence her intercourse. As has been before observed, the use of αὐτός, unless for emphasis, is very rare in Aeschylus. As unemphatic pronouns can be supplied from the context, the insertion of them is a sacrifice of force to simplicity and clearness, and alien from the weighty and sententious Aeschylean style. With the light enclitic pronouns νυ, σφε etc., this is not felt, but αὐτός, if needless, has an incongruous effect, and where it occurs an emphasis is to be looked for.—*ψευδώνυμος ξυνοῦσα*, because the association would be *unnatural*, οὐ κατὰ δίκην; see on v. 594.

660. Note the effect of the stop; see v. 566.—*τίς κτλ.* *Who should be preferred for his better claim?* the two comparatives have each their separate effect and are not merely cumulative.

663. Seven corrections of this incorrigible verse are given by Wecklein; Dindorf omits 661—3, Prieen 662—3, the ground of objection being really in 663. The argument from the silence of the Schol. goes too far, for there are no notes on 659—660, not to mention many other unimpeachable lines. As for 663,

nothing short of re-writing it would get rid of the obvious flaws both in the whole conception and in almost every word; the correction, if such it can be called, of Weil, αἰχμὴν τις αἰχμητῶν θ' ἄρε προβλήματα, is the only one which goes far enough to be effective. The simplest course, and the most logical (for it gives a cause for the assumed interpolation), is to omit 663 only; and if ever there was a situation justifying a dramatic interruption, it is this. From the words φέρ' ὥς τάχος it does not clearly appear that Eteocles calls for anything, as φέρε may mean simply *Come*; and the course of the play would suggest that he is armed already. However the MS. no doubt represents the stage tradition, founded, as Paley and others point out, on the somewhat similar situation in Euripides (*Phoenissae* 779. ET. ἐκφέρετε τεύχη πάνοπλά τ' ἀμφιβλήματα); and it has the practical advantage of explaining the delay.—*πετρῶν*: it is scarcely worth while to correct the accent, for the writer of this verse may well have confused πέτρα and πέτρος.

665. τῷ κάκιστ' αὐδωμένῳ *him named by the dreadful name*, Πολυνείκει, as in v. 566 etc.: αὐδωμένῳ is an imperfect participle. This interpretation divides the scholiasts and later commentators with τῷ ὑπὸ σοῦ βλασφημουμένῳ. But the words ὑπὸ σοῦ can scarcely be supplied.—

ἀλλ' ἄνδρας Ἀργείοισι Καδμείους ἄλις  
 ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν· αἷμα γὰρ καθάρσιον.  
 ἀνδροῖν δ' ὁμαίμοιν θάνατος ᾧδ' αὐτοκτόνος—  
 οὐκ ἔστι γῆρας τοῦδε τοῦ μιάσματος.

ET. εἶπερ κακὸν φέροι τις αἰσχύνῃς ἄτερ,  
 ἔστω· μόνον γὰρ κέρδος ἐν τεθνηκόσιν·  
 κακῶν δὲ κᾶσχροῶν οὔτιν' εὐκλείαν ἐρεῖς.

670

667. χερας.

668. αὐτόκτονος.

672. εὐκλειαν.

“Praestat active intelligere αὐδωμένῳ” Hermann; but there is no authority for a deponent αὐδῶμαι. Paley, rejecting it here, cites for it *Eum.* 383 καὶ δοφεράντων ἄχλιν κατὰ δώματος αὐδᾶται πολύστονος φάτις (where αὐδᾶται is passive, ἄχλιν being an ‘accusative in apposition to the sentence’) and *Cho.* 151 παιᾶνα τοῦ θανόντος ἐξαυδωμένος, a very obscure and doubtful passage.

667. αἷμα γὰρ καθάρσιον for there is blood for the cleansing, viz. the blood of the expiatory victim, by which homicide other than the shedding of kindred blood might be washed away, see *Eum.* 452 ἔστ' ἂν πρὸς ἀνδρὸς αἵματος καθαρσίου σφαγαὶ καθαιμάξωσι νεοθήλου βοτοῦ. Observe that καθάρσιος being active not passive, αἷμα cannot be referred to the blood shed by the homicide.—Two points of ancient religious law are to be noticed here: (1) all homicide requires purgation, even that of an enemy in war; it is a question of ceremonial uncleanness with which moral justification has nothing to do; and (2) the homicide which cannot be purged is that done by one man on another of the same tribe; the slaying of Argive by Cadmean is purgeable; that of Cadmean by Cadmean, by implication, is not. This is specially remarkable here, because the ancient principle, though rightly stated, is too wide for the dramatic purpose, being adapted to it in semblance by the ambiguous word δμαιοι. In strictness all Cadmeans are for this purpose δμαιοι, though we read, and are meant to read, the word here

as meaning ‘brother’ in the modern sense.

668. θάνατος ᾧδ' αὐτοκτόνος death by kindred murder such as this, i.e. as the slaying of Eteocles or Polynices by the other. The construction is broken for rhetorical effect.

670—672. The logic of this speech, both in itself and in relation to the preceding, is broken and obscure, from the excitement of the speaker. The sense may be filled up thus—‘Loss, even to the loss of life, a man might bear for such religious motives as you allege, if he could save honour: but not otherwise, for the dead have nothing but honour. To refuse the challenge of Polynices is to lose honour and all together; and good therefore in no way’.—ἔστω let it pass, well and good, equivalent to ἴσως ἂν τις κακὸν φέροι. The Schol. (εἰ ὅλως τις ἀτυχεῖ, καλὸν τὸ δίχα αἰσχύνῃς) and some commentators punctuate thus, εἶπερ κακὸν φέροι τις, αἰσχύνῃς ἄτερ ἔστω, nor can this be proved wrong.—μόνον γὰρ κέρδος ἢ εὐκλεία (schol.), supplied boldly from αἰσχύνῃς ἄτερ.—ἐν. The Scholl. comment on ἐν. There seems to be no reason for preferring either accentuation.—οὔτιν' εὐκλείαν ἐρεῖς: for οὐκ ἐρεῖς οὐδὲν εὐκλέες, οὐδὲν ἐπαινήσεις, γοῦ (one) can say no praise of: i.e. cannot call it good any way. κακῶν neuter. The metre of εὐκλείαν is, as Paley remarks, not more irregular than the Attic use of ἀνολία, see v. 389. The Schol. (ἐπεκά γε τῶν εἰς αὐτὸν γενομένων κακῶν καὶ αἰσχροῶν ἄδοξος) seems to have read a



- ΧΟ. τί μέμονας, τέκνον; μήτι σε θυμοπλη- στρ. α'.  
 θῆς δορίμαργος ἄτα φερέτω· κακοῦ δ'  
 ἔκβαλ' ἔρωτος ἀρχάν. 675
- ΕΤ. ἐπεὶ τὸ πρῶγμα κάρτ' ἐπισπέρχει θεός,  
 ἴτω κατ' οὖρον, κύμα Κωκυτοῦ λαχόν,  
 Φοῖβφ στυνγῆθεν πᾶν τὸ Λαῖου γένος.
- ΧΟ. ὦμοδακῆς σ' ἄγαν ἡμερος ἐξοτρή- ἀντ. α'.  
 νει πικρόκαρπον ἀνδρηλασίαν τελεῖν 680

674. δορίμαργος corr. by m'.

γε in this verse, perhaps after *αλοχρῶν*. It seems necessary to take *εὐκλείαν λέγειν* loosely, as above suggested, as the speaker cannot mean to say 'that which is dishonourable as well as mischievous is not honourable'.—It is not surprising that these three lines have provoked many corrections (see Wecklein's *Appendix*). They are in fact barely intelligible. But it must be remarked that most of what is said by Eteocles in this scene (see 682—4 and 688—91) is not only obscure, but obscure in the same strange way. My own belief is that this obscurity is intentional. It should be remembered that Eteocles is wrought up to the state described in the *Tempest*, "All three of them are desperate: their great guilt, Like poison given to work a great time after, Now 'gins to bite their spirits". He is possessed, as he says himself, by a fiend (v. 682), the embodiment of his own fierce passions of greed and hatred. It is by no means a reproach against a tragic poet, that the language of such a character in such a situation does not yield much result to a close logical scrutiny.

674. *δορίμαργον*?

677. *κύμα Κωκυτοῦ λαχόν*: *doomed to Cocytus' wave*, literally 'having received Cocytus' wave as their lot'.

678. *Φοῖβφ στυνγῆθεν*: see v. 731.

680. *ἀνδρηλασίαν*: apparently an error of spelling for *ἀνδρηλασίαν*, for which form cf. *βοηλασία* and *ἀνδρηλάτης* (v. 624). If the word be genuine, which

it well may be, *ἀνδρηλασίαν τελεῖν*, to finish his banishment, is a euphemistic expression for 'to banish him beyond return' by death; and this brings out the force of *πικρόκαρπον*, *bitter of fruit*, since the penalty of shedding kindred blood was precisely the banishment of the slayer.—*αἵματος οὐ θεμιστοῦ* depends upon *ἡμερος*. Note that in *ὦμοδακῆς* and *αἷμα οὐ θεμιστόν* the shedding of kindred blood is regarded as a kind of impious rite, the eating of things raw (see *ὠμόφαγος*, *ὠμοφαγία*) being to the Greeks a ceremonial act connected with certain rituals. To the same vocabulary belongs *τελεῖν*, the fixed word for 'to perform a rite (τέλος)'.—*ἀνδροκτασίαν* m', and all or almost all the modern texts. The form, recalling the sacrificial terms *ἀνροκτασία*, *σνοκτασία*, *βουκτασία* etc., suits excellently with the context, and simplifies the construction of *αἵματος*. On the other hand, it is technically not a probable correction; as it leaves the ms. reading inexplicable: a word like *ἀνδρηλασία* is not likely to be an invention. The schol. is confused and at the critical point corrupt—*ἡ ἀλογος ἄγαν ἐπιθυμία παρορμῆ ἢ πικρὸν τὸν καρπὸν ἐχουσα εἰς ταυτὸν οὖν τὸ τοῦ ἀνδρος ἀδίκου ἐνεκεν αἵματος, ὃ ἦ ὅτι μέλλουσιν οἱ ἀδελφοὶ ἀλλήλους ἀναιρεῖν*. Nothing certain can be made out of this note: I have therefore left the text as it stands.—*πικρόκαρπος* Weil and Paley from the schol., perhaps rightly: the change does not affect the sense.

αἵματος οὐ θεμιστοῦ.

ET. φίλου γὰρ αἰσχρά μοι πατὴρ τέλει' ἀρὰ  
ξηροῖς ἀκλαυστος ὄμμασιν προσιζάνει  
λέγουσα κέρδος πρότερον ὑστέρου μόρου.

XO. ἀλλὰ σὺ μὴ 'ποτρίνου' κακὸς οὐ κεκλή- στρ. β. 685  
ση βίον εὐ κηρήσας' μελάναιγίς δ' οὐκ  
εἴσι δόμων Ἑρινύς, ὅταν ἐκ χερῶν

682. τελεῖ.

683. ἀκλαυστος.

682. αἰσχρά (feminine) *hideous, horrible to see*, the Latin *turpis*, is a natural and effective epithet of the Erinys.—*ἐχθρὰ* *recc.*—*τέλεια* *sure, fatal, self-accomplishing* (for this sense of τέλειος see v. 817) depends in strict analysis on λέγουσα and is further explained by κέρδος...μόρου: but in effect τέλεια serves as an adverb of manner to the whole description ξηροῖς...μόρου, and hence its position. Translate—*Aye, for with fatal suggestion my loving father's hideous Curse sits close beside me saying, 'There is something better than death deferred!'*—*τέλω* Wordsworth, *μελῶ* Weil: but τέλεια is indispensable, since it is by this word that the speech is connected with the preceding: see τελεῖν in v. 680: *τελῶ γάρ*, says Eteocles, *ὅτι τέλεια λέγει*. I correct the accentuation.

683. ἀκλαυστος. ἀκλαυτος Butler; who seems to be right in replacing the nominative case; the alternative construction of ὄμμασιν with αἰσχρά is forced, and the double epithet ξηροῖς ἀκλαυστος is not satisfactory. The form ἀκλαυστος is not 'Attic', but it cannot be assumed that the Athenian poets were regular in such matters. ὄμμασιν: for the construction of the case with ἀκλαυστος cf. πόλις φθίνουσα κάλυξεν ἐγκάρποις χθονός Soph. O. T. 25: it has a locative force.—Paley takes ὄμμασιν of the eyes of Eteocles, in dependence upon προσιζάνει, which is good in grammar but scarcely in sense. It is the fiendish figure herself who is fearless, that is, remorseless.

684. κέρδος πρότερον, literally, 'a gain preferable' or 'superior'; for this

sense see *Lex. s. νν.* πρότερος, πρώτος. The κέρδος πρότερον is the saving of honour by accepting the challenge: see v. 671. That this is the meaning is, I think, clearly proved by the reply. The antithesis of πρότερον ὑστέρου is an antithesis only of sound.—None of the corrections proposed (see Wecklein) make the meaning more clear, nor, I submit, ought they to be admitted in this passage if they did. See on v. 670.

685. *A coward thou wilt not be called, being thus prosperous in thy fortune.* βίον 'state of life, condition of life' is constructed as an accusative of respect with εὐ κηρήσας (εὐ πράξας schol.). Eteocles, they urge, will not incur the reproach of cowardice, by refusing to stake his royal fortunes against the desperation of the outlawed Polynices. The condition 'if thou refuse the challenge' is to be supplied, cf. v. 672. See the remark of Enobarbus on the challenge of Antony (*Ant. and Cleopatra* III. 13. 28), 'Yes, like enough, high-battled Caesar will Unstate his happiness, and be staged to the show Against a sword'.

686. μελάναιγίς δ' οὐκ εἴσι κτλ. I have added the mark of interrogation, which is necessary, if the negative be retained.—*And for the fiend who plagueth the house, will she not depart from it, when the gods receive the offering of the hands?* Except this no change is absolutely required. The metre is not perfectly regular (cf. 693), but there is a similar irregularity in v. 685 compared with v. 692, and see the *Appendix* on

- θεοὶ θυσίαν δέχονται ;
- ET. θεοῖς μὲν ἤδη πῶς παρημελήμεθα,  
χάρις δ' ἀφ' ἡμῶν ὀλομένων θαυμάζεται. 690  
τί οὖν ἔτ' ἂν σαίνοιμεν ὀλέθριον μόρον ;
- XO. νῦν ὅτε σοι παρέστακεν' ἐπεὶ δαίμων 695  
λήματος ἂν τροπαίᾳ χρονίᾳ μετα-  
λακτὸς ἴσως ἂν ἔλθοι θαλερωτέρῳ  
πνεύματι· νῦν δ' ἔτι ζεῖ.
- ET. ἐξέξες' ἂν γὰρ Οἰδίου κατ' εὐγμᾶτα·

693. ἀντροπαῖα χρονία.

694. θαλωτέρω.

696. ἐξέξεσαν. κατεύγματα.

metres.—*δόμων* depends directly on *Ἐρινός* and more loosely, in an ablative sense, upon *εἰσι*.—*μελάναιγίς ἐκ δ' εἰσι* Weil (and Wecklein), a doubtful arrangement of words.—The schol. on *v.* 685 runs οὐ γὰρ ἡ τὴν φοβερὰν ἔχουσα αἰγίδα Ἐρινὸς εἰς τὸν ὅλον ἐκείνου εἰσεῖσιν, οὐ οἱ θεοὶ θυσίας προσδέχονται, and on *v.* 687 κατὰ (?) τῶν δόμων τοῦ ὀσίου ἀνδρός, οὐ οἱ θεοὶ τὰς θυσίας δέχονται. Hence Bruck infers *δόμους* and *Prien ὄτου*.

690. *χάρις δ' ἀφ' ἡμῶν*: τὴν ἀπώλειαν ἡμῶν ἐν χάριτος μοίρᾳ λαμβάνουσιν· ἢ μετὰ θάνατον ἴσως εὐκλείας τευζόμεθα. ἄλλως· μετὰ θάνατον, φησὶν, αἱ πράξεις τῶν ἀνθρώπων θαυμάζονται. τί οὖν οὐχὶ γενναῖόν τι δράσαντες ἀποθανούμεθα, τὸν Πολυαῖκη ὡς ἀσεβῆ ἀνελόντες, ἀλλὰ κολακεύομεν τὸν θάνατον, καὶ οὐχὶ χωροῦμεν πρὸς αὐτόν; schol. Of these explanations the first only is even possible, 'the gift respected (by the gods) at our hands is the gift we offer by dying'; *θαυμάζειν* having the sense 'to respect, regard'. But even so the form of expression is forced and the use of the participle doubtful. A simpler and much better rendering is 'Gifts (or thanks) from us destroyed move their wonder', literally 'are wondered at'. The gods, says Eteocles bitterly, who have long given us over to destruction, wonder to see us pursue them with worship fruitless and unearned.

692. νῦν ὅτε σοι παρέστακεν. *This*

is the hour of his presence, the presence, that is, of the fatal power which seeks the destruction of the house. Weil refers to *Συρρ.* 638 νῦν ὅτε καὶ θεοὶ Διογενεῖς κλύοιτε. *δαίμων* generally, like *θεός*, fate, the evil influence. As to the metre see *Appendix*.—The translation 'Now is the permitted hour' (*παρέστακε*=*πάρεστι*) is also possible, but does not suit the context.

693. *ἂν τροπαίᾳ* Heath: *ἂν* anticipates the following *ἂν* in *v.* 694. *τροπαία* is a substantive signifying 'change of wind'.

694. *θαλωτέρω* (one letter erased). It is uncertain what should be restored. *θαλερωτέρω* (*m*) is the obvious suggestion: there is no precise authority for such an expression as *θαλερόν πνεῦμα* a soft wind; on the other hand such phrases as *θαλερόν δάκρυ* might suggest the meaning soft, and the use of such archaic words in the poets is often very loose.—*θελεμωτέρω* Conington, from the interpretation of Hesychius *θελεμόν· ἥσυχον· χαλαρωτέρω* Hermann: *θεμερωτέρω* Badham: see also Wecklein's *Appendix*.

696. *Aye, to such fierceness was it doubtless wrought by Oedipus' imprecation.* *ἐξέξες' ἂν*: literally 'it must have become thus hot according to Oedipus' prayer'; the nominative is, as from the nature of such a retort it should be, still that of *ζεῖ*, the *δαίμων* or *πνεῦμα δαίμονος*, the fatal violence to which Eteocles is

ἀγαν δ' ἀληθεῖς ἐνυπνίων φαντασμάτων  
 ὄψεις, πατρώων χρημάτων δατήριον.

ΧΟ. πείθου γυναιξίν, καίπερ οὐ στέργων ὄμωσ.

ΕΤ. λέγοιτ' ἂν ὦν ἄνη τις. οὐδὲ χρή μακράν.

700

ΧΟ. μὴ ἄλθης ὁδοὺς σὺ τάσδ' ἐφ' ἐβδόμῃς πύλαις.

ΕΤ. τεθηγμένον τοί μ' οὐκ ἀπαμβλυνεῖς λόγῳ.

ΧΟ. νίκην γε μέντοι καὶ κακὴν τιμᾷ θεός.

698. δοτήριος—δατήριον m'.

700. τίς.

yielding. Here *ἄν* with the past tense of the indicative signifies, not what would have happened upon certain conditions, but what, as is conjectured, may or must have happened under the known conditions. For this use of *ἄν* (and *κεν*) see Kühner *Gr. Gramm.* § 392, 4, e.g. Soph. *O. T.* 523 ἄλλ' ἤλθε μὲν δὴ τοῦτο τοῦνιδος τάχ' ἄν (such a reproach may have been uttered); Hes. *Theog.* 703 τοῖος γὰρ κε μέγιστος δοῦπος ὀρώρει (such and no louder must have been the crash); Agam. 924 ἤξω θεοῖς δέσας ἂν ὦδ' ἔρδειν τάδε (you vowed perhaps in some moment of fear to do as you are now doing); Ar. *Ran.* 1023 ὁ θεασάμενος πᾶς ἄν τις ἀνὴρ ἠράσθη δαῖος εἶναι (a play at seeing which any man must have longed to be a fighter).—By dividing the letters as in the text, all difficulty seems to be removed from this line; the later copies give ἐξέξεσαν....κατεύγματα, but, apart from the difficulty of this expression in itself, and the want of proper relation to the preceding sentence, the technical improbability of ἐξέξεσαν is very great. Why was ἐξέξεσαν written if the original was ἐξέξεσεν, in appearance so much simpler? For κατ' εὐγμάτα some independent support may perhaps be found in v. 804 πατὴρ κατ' εὐχὰς in a passage full of imitations of other parts of the play.

697. This vision, as Hermann observes, was probably described in the preceding tragedy of *Oedipus*. From the allusions to it which here follow (e.g. v. 714 foll.), it would seem that the *Ἐρινός* of Oedipus prophesied to Eteocles

or showed him in a dream the two brothers disputing their father's heritage, and a 'stranger from Scythia', interpreted to mean the sword of iron or Σκυθικὸς σίδηρος, arbitrating between them.—ὡς τοῦτο ἐν τοῖς ὕπνοις φαντασθεῖς, ὅτι δι' αἵματος αὐτῷ ἔσται ἡ τῶν χρημάτων διανομή. Schol.

699. πείθου: 'let women persuade thee', less peremptory than πιθεῖ (Blomfield).

700. *Ye must plead for that which there is a way to do, i.e. for what is possible. ἄνη accomplishment, ἀνυσίς καὶ πράξις* Hesychius.

701. ὁδὸς supplies the defect of a verbal substantive cognate to *λέναι*, ἐλθεῖν.—ἐφ' ἐβδόμῃς πύλαις: for (the defence of) the seventh gate, or to defend etc.; the dative with ἐπὶ expresses the object of any action, the relation of the object to the action being determined by the context; see on v. 531. Not of course 'to the gate'.

702. τοί marks that the phrase is a proverb applied to the present case.

703. "There is a victory, if not one of bravery, which the god holds in honour'. Compare Ag. 915 (933) ἡ καὶ σὺ νίκην τήνδε δῆριος τίεις; where the meaning seems to be τὸ νικᾶσθαι ἀντὶ τοῦ νικᾶν. In *Eum.* 863 (904) we have ὅποια νίκης μὴ κακῆς ἐπίσκοπα"—the context supports the meaning 'a victory by which the defeated do not lose'—"It seems probable that νίκη κακή meant 'a victory which consists in a defeat', an expression applied to those who do well in allowing

- ET. οὐκ ἄνδρ' ὀπλίτην τοῦτο χρὴ στέργειν ἔπος.  
 XO. ἀλλ' αὐτάδελφον αἶμα δρέψασθαι θέλεις; 705  
 ET. θεῶν διδόντων οὐκ ἂν ἐκφύγοις κακά.  
 XO. πέφρικα τὰν ὠλεσίοικον στρ. α'.  
 θεόν, οὐ θεοῖς ὁμοίαν,  
 παναληθῇ, κακόμαντιν,  
 πατρὸς εὐκταίαν Ἐρινύν,  
 τελέσαι τὰς περιθύμους 710

themselves to be beaten or convinced. So *Ajac.* 1353 παῦσαι κρατεῖς τοι τῶν φθίων νικώμενος". (Paley.) From *ἔπος* in *v.* 704 and *τοι* in the last citation it appears that the expressions *νίκη κακή* a coward's victory and *κρατεῖν νικώμενος* were proverbial or familiar. *τιμῇ θεῶς* God (or perhaps rather the goddess, *Νίκη* herself) values it, i.e. in a large and wise view winning in the end is winning, though it may have the appearance of defeat for the moment. The expression may have arisen out of an apologue or fable.—Note γε, 'it is *νίκη* at any rate, although *κακή νίκη*'.—I find Paley's explanation quite satisfactory. For suggested corrections see Wecklein's *Appendix*.

704. *That is not a saying which a soldier may like.* Compare our 'discretion is the better part of valour'.

705. *αἶμα δρέψασθαι*: a difficult expression. It is not easy to believe that *δρέψασθαι* to pluck or gather is simply "a bold metaphor" for *to shed* (Lidd. and Scott). Nothing in the classical use of *δρέπεσθαι* points to this conclusion. The *Lex.* cites Bion 1. 22 αἱ δὲ βάτοι νιν ἐρχομένων τείροντι καὶ ἱερὸν αἶμα δρέπονται: but it scarcely follows that because brambles may be said to 'pluck' blood from the feet, a warrior can be said to 'pluck' the blood of another. Moreover, Bion is a very unsafe authority for Aeschylus. On the other hand the use of *αἶμα* in poetry is singularly loose; one of its meanings is 'a deed of blood, murder'; thus we have *εἰργασται μητρῶν αἶμα, δμαιμον αἶμα γίγνεται* etc. (see *Lex.* s. v.).

The metaphor *δρέπειν* again is very common for the winning of a prize or the performing of the glorious act which deserves it, a metaphor naturally suggested by the 'wreath' of victory: e.g. *κορυφὰς ἀρετῶν ἀπὸ πασάν δρέπειν* to gather every crowning exploit (Pindar *Ol.* 1. 20), *Ἰσθμιάδων δρέπεσθαι δωτον* (Pind. *Nem.* 2. 13) etc. (see *Lex.* s. v.). The present expression 'to pluck the murder of a brother' seems to arise from this use, meaning in prose 'to make a prize of it, treat it as an object of soldierly ambition'; observe the tone of Eteocles' previous speech and particularly the words *ἄνδρ' ὀπλίτην*. So taken the figure is bold, but it is not, like *δρέπεσθαι* for *to shed*, an abuse of language.

706. *From ill which the gods give there is no escape.* κακά is the object of both verbs; the second person of the optative with *ἂν*, like the Latin second person of the subjunctive, answers to the English use of 'you' for the indefinite 'one', e.g. Soph. *Ai.* 155 τῶν γὰρ μεγάλων ψυχῶν *λεῖς οὐκ ἂν ἀμάρτοις*, where (as by *m'* here) the second person has been wrongly changed by a corrector to the third.—In *διδόντων* there is a last touch of Eteocles' irony.—With these words he rushes from the stage.

707. *πέφρικα Ἐρινὺν τελέσαι.* *I shudder at the thought of the Erinys, fulfilling etc.* lit. 'at the Erinys' fulfilling'. *Ἐρινὺν τελέσαι* depends as a substantive upon *πέφρικα* and the aor. inf. is timeless. (Not exactly 'I fear that the Erinys will accomplish'.)

κατάρας Οιδιπόδα βλαψίφρονος  
παιδολέτωρ δ' ἔρις δ' ὀτρύνει.

ξένος δὲ κλήροις ἐπινωμῶν

ἀντ. α'.

Χάλυβος Σκυθῶν ἄποικος,

715

κτεάνων χρηματοδαίτας

πικρός, ὀμόφρων σίδαρος,

χθόνα ναίειν διαπήλας,

ὅποσας καὶ φθιμένοισιν κατέχειν,

τῶν μεγάλων πεδίων ἀμοίρους.

720

712. βλαψίφρονος οἰδιπόδα.

713. ἔρις.

714. κλήρους corr. to κλήροις.

712. Οἰδιπόδα βλαψίφρονος Triclinius.

713. παιδολέτωρ δ' ἔρις: ταῦτα παρορμῶ.—δῆλον δὲ ὅτι ἐν ταῖς αἰχμαλωσίαις τὰ παῖδια ἀναιρείται.—ὕποκοριστικῶς δὲ τὴν Ἑρινὸν ἔρις εἶπεν. Schol. The first note is valuable as confirming the text, which signifies literally 'She (the Erinyes) is fatal to children; and Discord calls her on', i.e. 'children cursed by their father are thereby in great peril of destruction; much more when, as now, they give the evil power an occasion by their quarrel'. The complete sentence would be παιδολέτωρ δὲ ἐστὶ ἔρις δ' ὀτρύνει αὐτήν (not ταῦτα as in the schol.); for the omission of the pronoun cf. v. 495. In common prose we should have παιδολέτωρ γάρ: but for the earlier use of δὲ see Kuehner *Gr. Gramm.* § 518, 7. The Erinyes was by function παιδολέτωρ, her special office being to fulfil the parental curse; the Scholl. are mistaken in the explanation of the word, and also in identifying ἔρις with Ἑρινύς.—Apart from the metre, as to which see the *Appendix*, there is no difficulty in this verse.

714. ξένος κλήροις (ἐστὶν) ἐπινωμῶν (αὐτοῦς): he is but a stranger to the inheritance, that he should award it. ἐπινωμῶν depends as an explanatory infinitive upon ξένος, literally 'foreign to award it'. Without metaphor, 'the unfriendly arbitrament of the sword will be fatal to

those kinsmen who invoke it'.—This is a better reading, as well as technically more probable, than κλήρους ἐπινωμῶν.

717. χρηματοδαίτας πικρός one whose division they will rue.

718—20: literally 'allotting them severally land to dwell in, as much as (one might allot) to them even when dead, to hold it, having no part in those wide fields', i.e. 'giving them for their only remnant of all their father's land only so much as their dead bodies may fill': ναίειν and κατέχειν are explanatory infinitives: ἀμοίρους is rightly in the accusative, as belonging to the consecutive or explanatory κατέχειν ('as if he had written ὥστε αὐτοὺς κατέχειν αὐτήν' Paley). It might of course also have been in the dative, following the case of the remoter object (αὐτοῖς) to διαπήλας, but the text is more clear. Rendered into the unsuitable English equivalents the sentence appears clumsy, but in Greek it is quite simple.—Ar. *Eccl.* 592 μηδὲ γεωργεῖν τὸν μὲν πολλήν, τῷ δ' εἶναι μηδὲ ταφήναι; Soph. *Oed. Col.* 790 χθονὸς λαχὼν τοσούτον ἐνθανεῖν μόνον; Shakespeare *Hen. IV.* Part I. 5. 4, "But now two paces of the vilest earth Is room enough" (Paley).

720. τῶν demonstrative, and probably accompanied by a gesture, the μεγάλα πεδία lying in view from the citadel. So τὰν βαθύχθον' αἶαν v. 295.

ἐπεὶ δ' ἂν αὐτοκτονῶσιν, στρ. β'.  
 αὐτοδάκτοι θάνωσι,  
 καὶ χθονία κόνις πῆ  
 μελαμπαγὲς αἷμα φοῖνιον,  
 τίς ἂν καθαρμὸν πόροι, 725  
 τίς ἂν σφε λούσειεν; ὃ πόννοι δόμων  
 νέοι παλαιοῖς συμμιγείς κακοῖς.  
 παλαιγενῇ γὰρ λέγω ἀντ. β'.  
 παραβασίαν ὠκύποινον,  
 αἰῶνα δ' ἐς τρίτον μένει, 730  
 Ἀπόλλωνος εὔτε Λαῖος  
 βία, τρίς εἰπόντος ἐν  
 μεσομφάλοις Πυθικοῖς χρηστηρίοις  
 θνάσκοντα γέννας ἄτερ σφίξειν πόλιν,  
 κρατηθεὶς δ' ἐκ φίλων ἀβουλίαν, στρ. γ'. 735

721. αὐτοκτόνῶσιν.

725. καθαρ\*

727. παλαιός.

729. ὠκύπονον corr. to ὠκύποινον.

721. *But when by kindred murderers kinsmen are murderously slain.* The reference, as the sequel shows, is to the parricide of Laius, which entailed on the house the curse now being fulfilled. The subject is general, *men*. For a similar 'riming' effect in parallel clauses see *vv.* 895, 896. — αὐτοκτόνως Triclinius, for metre: but the adverb is not satisfactory, and see the *Appendix*.

723. χθονία κόνις *the dust deep down*. There is an opposition between the substantive and the epithet (*oxy-moron*), as χθόνιος commonly signifies 'subterranean'. But the meaning, 'that the shedding of blood summons from the underworld the avenging Erinys', is the better conveyed.—κάγχωρα Newman, for metre (and cf. Wecklein); but see the *Appendix*.

724. μελαμπαγὲς...φοῖνιον. See on *v.* 629.

729. παραβασίαν perhaps pronounced *παρβασίαν* and so written (Porson).

731—737. Ἀπόλλωνος...Οἰδιπόδαν. This (whether δέ be retained in *v.* 735 or not) is one clause explaining παραβασίαν,

the main construction being εὔτε Λαῖος... ἐγέλνατο—'the transgression committed when Laius', contrary to the injunction of Apollo and yielding to his passion, begat Oedipus, who slew him.—ὠκύποινον...μένει: *swiftly punished, yet persisting to the third generation*; see on *v.* 578.

733. μεσομφάλοις, containing the sacred ὀμφαλος or 'navel-stone' which was supposed to mark the centre of the earth.

734. *to die childless if he would save his country*; the stress of the injunction falls on the participle.

735. δέ. The sentence is more normal if δέ be omitted, as by Pauw and Porson. But if it be retained there is still no break of construction; κρατηθεὶς δέ is contrasted with τρίς (μὲν) εἰπόντος, and as the opposition between the act and the command is the point of the sentence, the δέ may well be right.

ἐκ φίλων *by his love, i.e. his wife*; the word is frequently so used by the tragedians.—ἀβουλίαν: acc. 'of respect' construed with κρατηθεὶς—*his folly being overmastered*. Or we may correct either to ἀβουλίαν (Dindorf) depending on ἐκ,

γείνατο μὲν μόρον αὐτῷ,  
πατροκτόνον Οἰδιπόδαν,  
ὅστε ματρὸς ἀγνὰν  
σπείρας ἄρουραν, ἵν' ἐτράφη,  
ρίζαν αἱματόεσσαν  
ἔτλα. παράνοια συνᾶγε  
νυμφίους φρενῶλης.  
κακῶν δ' ὥσπερ θάλασσα κύμ' ἄγει,  
τὸ μὲν πίτνον, ἄλλο δ' ἀείρει,  
τρίχαλον, ὃ καὶ περὶ πρύ-  
μναν πόλεως καχλάζει  
μεταξὺ δ' ἀλκὰ δι' ὀλίγου

740

ἀντ. γ'.

745

741. σύναγε.

or to ἀβουλία (*recc.*), because of folly, imprudently. Technically there is little or nothing to choose between these; but the MS. reading is as good as any.

736. μὲν. The antithesis to this μὲν is not expressed, but implied in μόρον αὐτῷ, the full sense being ἐγείνατο μὲν, μόρον δ' αὐτῷ ἐγείνατο: he *did* indeed become a father, but at the cost of his life. Cf. Soph. O. C. 1370 εἰσὸρᾷ μὲν οὐ τί πω ὥς αὐτίκα, 'he looks upon thee, but not as he presently will'.

739. σπείρας...ἔτλα: a powerful expression, to be carefully distinguished from the common ἔτλη ποιῆσαι he dared to do. The literal rendering is 'having done the deed, he endured'; the force might be approximately given by 'he lived to do it'. It is analogous to the use of τλῆναι with a passive (πραθέντα τλῆναι Ag. 1025 Paley), Oedipus being regarded rather as suffering than as acting.—σπείρας ἄρουραν...ρίζαν: *plant the field with a root*; the verb takes together both the possible accusatives.

741. παράνοια...φρενῶλης: a parenthetic exclamation.—νυμφίους Laius (not Oedipus) and his wife.—συνᾶγε: note the imperfect tense, implying extension in time; not 'united them', but 'drew them till they came together', 'would not let

them stay apart'.—φρενῶλης *m'*, a change not to be justified without independent evidence; the form may be either passive or active (*maddening*).

743—745. I have inserted the comma after ἀείρει, as the sense requires that τρίχαλον should be construed with κύμα, not with ἄλλο. 'A sea of disaster, as each wave falls, another wave rising still, brings the huge breaker, which even foams about the city's helm'.—The description τὸ μὲν κύμα πίτνον, ἄλλο δ' ἀειρόμενον explains by way of apposition the words κακῶν θάλασσα: for the second participle the finite verb is substituted according to the use noted on v. 578. The subject of ἀείρει is θάλασσα supplied. Without metaphor, 'the misfortunes entailed on the house of Laius by his disobedience have followed each other till, as now, the whole people is involved in the peril'.—κύμα τρίχαλον a picturesque equivalent for τρικυμία (Paley).

747—8. *And between is but a narrow defence, the broadness of a wall*, literally 'a defence extends a short interval, a wall in the breadth'. μεταξὺ δ' ἀλκὰ: μεταξὺ δ' ἡμῶν, δι' ὀλίγου ἐστὶν ἡ τῶν πολεμίων δύναμις τῆς ἡμετέρας, καὶ τὸ διάστημα ὃ πύργος ὁ διείργων ἐστὶν schol. (in the first clause μεταξὺ ἡμῶν is either carelessly



τείνει πύργος ἐν εὐρεῖ.  
 δέδοικα δὲ σὺν βασιλεῦσι  
 μὴ πόλις δαμασθῇ.  
 τέλειαι γὰρ παλαιφάτων ἀραὶ  
 βαρεῖαι καταλλαγαί· τὰ δ' ὅλοα  
 πελόμεν' οὐ παρέρχεται  
 πρόπρυμμα δ' ἐκβολῶν φέρει

750  
 στρ. δ.

749. συμβαλεῦσι.

751. τέλειαι\*.

written or has been introduced from a different note). In accordance with the metaphor of the previous lines, in which the beleaguered city is compared to a ship in a stormy sea, her wall is naturally compared to the 'narrow plank' of the vessel.—ἐν εὐρεῖ: ἐν πλάτει, ἐν μεταίχμιῳ schol. The two glosses represent different views; according to the first ἐν is *in respect of*, according to the second it is local, the sense being either (1) *a wall in breadth*, or (2) *a wall in the (intervening) breadth*. Either way the phrase is in apposition to ἀλά and explains δι' ὀλίγου τείνει.—For numerous corrections of this passage see Wecklein's *Appendix*. I cannot persuade myself that any change is required. As to the metre see *Appendix*.

751—56. *For an inherited self-filling curse is a dangerous ware to traffic withal: neither doth the merchantman's wealth, heaped over-high, escape the coming of destruction, but bringeth total wreck.* παλαιφάτων masculine, of the men of old.—καταλλαγαί, properly *exchange, commerce, traffic*, but here used, as such abstract substantives frequently are, in a passive and concrete sense, for 'the thing exchanged' or 'merchandise'. The metaphor of the ship (see the previous passage) is still continued, the hereditary curse being aptly likened to a dangerous freight which increases the peril of a storm.—τὰ ὅλοα πελόμενα literally, 'things destructive when they occur'. The word πελόμενα is not necessary but modifies the sense. The dangers

of a family or a city are not created by the ἀραὶ παλαιφάτων, but arise in the nature of things. The effect of the evil destiny is that these dangers prove fatal; the same thing is put plainly in vv. 749—50. The ship-metaphor is still pursued, but the word ὄλβος introduces a slight transition, not perfectly logical but unobjectionable in poetry, to another aspect of it, in which the freight is not the curse, but the prosperity, which according to Aeschylus' favourite doctrine is itself a source of danger. It may be noticed that this transition is much smoothed in the Greek by the order of the words, which in English cannot be followed.

πρόπρυμμα ἐκβολῶν (or ἐκβολῶν?) *utter loss or utterness of loss*. In such constructions the neut. adj. practically supplies the function of an abstract substantive; they are particularly common with superlatives such as ἔσχατα, to which πρόπρυμμα belongs by sense though not by form. Kühner, *Gr. Gramm.* § 414, 5 b. Note the plural in ἐκβολαί, common in abstract nouns of this type, the plural being better than the singular to exclude the possibility of a concrete sense. ἐκβολαί *wreck* from ἐκβάλλειν of a 'cast-away' ship (see *Lex. s. v.*); that this is meant rather than the casting-out of the freight (*iactura*) is probable from the sense and from the word πρόπρυμμα which would apply more naturally to the loss of the ship than of the merchandise.

ἀρᾶν (for ἀραι) Bothe and many editors; but this change has been suggested by

ἀνδρῶν ἀλφηστᾶν 755  
 ὄλβος ἄγαν παχυνθείς.  
 τίν' ἀνδρῶν γὰρ τοσόνδ' ἐθαύμασαν ἀντ. δ.  
 θεοὶ καὶ ξυνέστιοι πόλεως  
 πολύβατός τ' ἄγῶν βροτῶν,  
 ὅσον τότ' Οἰδίπουν τίον, 760  
 τὰν ἀρπαξάνδραν  
 κῆρ' ἀφελόντα χώρας;  
 ἐπεὶ δ' ἀρτίφρων στρ. ε'.  
 ἐγένετο μέλεος ἀθλίων  
 γάμων, ἐπ' ἄλλῃ δυσφορῶν 765  
 μαινομένη καρδία  
 δίδυμα κάκ' ἐτέλεσεν

759. πολύβοτός τ' αἶων. 761. ἀναρπαξάνδραν. 767. ἐτέλεσαν corr. to ἐτέλεσεν.

the error of taking *καταλλαγαί* to mean 'reconciliation' or the like; on this assumption it is impossible to interpret the ms. reading, or to connect the sentence with the context; neither does the correction *ἀρῶν* give any clear meaning or restore the connexion required. It cannot be believed that the metaphor of the ship, pursued in *vv.* 743—750 and again in *vv.* 752—756, is entirely dropped in the few words which intervene.—τὰ δ' ὁλοὰ κτλ. For a large number of suggested changes see Wecklein's *Appendix*. All of them (as *τελλόμεν* in the later mss.) proceed on the supposition that τὰ ὁλοὰ is nominative: most of the difficulty disappears when τὰ ὁλοὰ is seen to be an accusative. The use of *πελεσθαι* is regular; see *Lex. s. v.*—ἐκβολῶν changed by *m'* to the accusative singular ἐκβολάν: but this leaves *πρόπρυμμα* without construction.

751. τὸ τέλεια ἀντὶ τοῦ τέλειαι ὑφῆκεν δὲ (he has inserted) τὸ ἰ διὰ τὸ μέτρον. This note is worth citing, as it accounts for the erasure of the final *ι* of *τέλειαι* in the ms. It has however obviously been mis-written and misunderstood. It should run τὸ τέλειαι ἀντὶ τοῦ τέλειαι κτλ., and refers to the two forms *τέλεος* and *τέλειος*, of which the annotator supposed the

first alone to be correct, the second a metrical license, though as a fact, both forms are correct. The authors of the *Medicean scholia* are scarcely to be accused of asserting that a feminine is a metrical license for a neuter, or *vice versa*.

758. ξυνέστιοι πόλεως the citizens themselves, who shared the feast (worship) of the city's gods, and were actually then assembled to pray for Oedipus' success. Compare the opening scene of the *Oedipus Rex*.—πόλεος δ' Dindorf.

759. πολίβατος Blomfield from the scholium ὁ ὑπὸ πολλῶν ἐμβατευόμενος ἀνδρῶν: ἀγῶν Weil, taking ἀγῶν in the sense of ἀγορά, the place of assembly, the crowded market-place (perhaps rather the assembly itself). This expression is so appropriate and picturesque, the ms. so difficult to understand, and the error so slight, that I do not hesitate to adopt the corrections.

761. τὰν ἀρπαξάνδραν Butler, Hermann.—κῆρα: the Sphinx; see *v.* 528.

764. ἀθλίων γάμων: this genitive (of respect) depends both on ἀρτίφρων and on μέλεος—when he saw truly (became sound of judgment respecting) the hapless union which was his misery.

766. κραιδί Turnebus.

768—775. This very obscure passage

πατροφόνῳ χερὶ τῶν  
 κρείσσῳ τέκνων δ'† ἀπ' ὀμμάτων ἐπλάγχθη  
 τέκνοις δ' ἀραίᾳ ἀντ. ε'. 770  
 ἐφῆκεν ἐπικότους τροφᾶς,  
 αἰαῖ, πικρογλώσσους ἀράς,  
 καὶ σφε σιδαρονόμῳ  
 διὰ χερὶ ποτε λαχεῖν  
 κτήματα· νῦν δὲ τρέω 775  
 μὴ τελέσῃ καμψίπους Ἑρινύς.

ΑΓ. θαρσεῖτε, παῖδες μητέρων τεθραμμένοι.  
 πόλις πέφευγεν ἤδε δούλιον ζυγόν·  
 πέπτωκεν ἀνδρῶν ὀβρίμων κομπάσματα,  
 πόλις δ' ἐν εὐδία τε, καὶ κλυδωνίου 780

771. τροφᾶς.

774. διαχειρίαι.

779. πέπτωκεν δ'.

has been fully considered in the *Introduction*, § 4 and note.

774. λαχεῖν or. obl. for the λάχοιτε of the direct prayer: see on v. 623.—διὰ ..λαχεῖν: to be taken together as a compound verb.—διὰ χερὶ Porson.

776. καμψίπους Ἑρινύς the returning fiend, i.e. ever coming back in successive generations to wreak successive woes upon the house, and now appearing at her due time. The force of this epithet lies in the first part; it signifies not that she bends her foot, but that the course of her feet is like the race-course (to which κάμπτεω is so frequently applied) and brings her ever back again and again to the same place. This interpretation seems more satisfactory both in meaning and language than 'swift of foot'. To justify this Hermann observes that 'to move the limbs easily' (as of a horse) is κάμπτεω ὑγρῶς τὰ γόνατα, but surely this goes no way at all to prove that 'foot-bending' could mean 'swift'.—ἡ κάμπτουσα τῶν κολαζομένων τοῦ πόδας, αὐοεὶ ἢ συμποδίζουσα καὶ μὴ ἔωσα φεύγειν. Schol.

777. παῖδες μητέρων τεθραμμένοι children of your mothers' nursing, i.e. soft feminine creatures, an expression of

gentle contempt for their fears. συγγενεῖς, ἡ δειλαί, ὑπὸ μητέρων ἀπλῶς τραφεῖσαι schol., 'like in nature (to your mothers), or cowardly, just what their nursing made you', a very fair interpretation, in which ἀπλῶς should not have been changed to ἀπαλῶς. Grammatically παῖδες μητέρων supplies a predicate explaining τεθραμμένοι, 'reared so that you are indeed mothers' children': the genitive does not express agency simply, though this notion is here to be implied from it. So in Soph. *Phil.* 3 (cited by Paley), where Neoptolemus is described as κρατίστου πατρὸς Ἑλλήνων τραφεῖς, 'one whose nurture was that of Achilles' son'. Note however that τεθραμμένοι, as distinguished from τραφεῖς, expresses the present result of the process.—So in substance Paley, who with hesitation defends the ms. Weil assumes a lacuna after this verse. τεθρυμμένοι Hermann, τεθραγμένοι Hartung, and see Wecklein's *Appendix*. There is a strong majority against the ms., but it will not easily be improved.

780—783. Cf. vv. 2, 62, 747, 1069. This metaphor runs through the whole play.

πολλαῖσι πληγαῖς ἄντλον οὐκ ἐδέξατο.  
 στέγει δὲ πύργος, καὶ πύλας φερεγγύοις  
 ἐφραζάμεσθα μονομάχοισι προστάταις.  
 καλῶς ἔχει τὰ πλεῖστ' ἐν ἑξ πυλώμασιν  
 τὰς δ' ἐβδόμας ὁ σεμνὸς ἐβδομαγέτας  
 ἀναξ' Ἀπόλλων εἶλετ', Οἰδίπου γένει  
 κραίνων παλαιὰς Λαῖου δυσβουλίας.

785

783. ἐφραζάμεθα.

785. **ἐβδομαγέτας**. Apollo, as having been born on the seventh day of the month (Hes. *Op.* 770), was called **ἐβδομαγένης**. Here this title appears, as Paley says, 'a little changed', so as to have the meaning 'seventh leader'. We have in fact an example of that curious verbal ingenuity which plays so marked a part in the religious and prophetic mysteries of Aeschylus.—ἡ γὰρ ἐβδόμη, φησί, πύλη, ἵνα τὰ μαρτύματα τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τὰ Λαῖου δοθέντα τέλος λάβῃ. ἐβδόμη γὰρ ἐγεννήθη Ἀπόλλων. Schol. This note seems to point to some connexion between the number seven and the prophecy of Apollo to Laius, which may well have been found in the legends, though it is not implied in the text. This is one of the passages which without the epic traditions are probably but half intelligible to us.

786. **ἐλετο** took to himself, i.e. he made this gate, for the sin of Laius, an exception from our triumph, while he at the same time protected it.

787. **κραίνων δυσβουλίας** accomplishing his perversity, i.e. punishing it by its effects. See *vv.* 731—42.

788—816. A tract of some length might be filled with the criticisms of this passage. From 789 to 806 there is scarcely a verse which has not been excised, displaced, and corrected in various ways. (See Wecklein's *Appendix*.) I will state briefly the conclusions which appear to me probable. It is scarcely credible that the whole, including the repetition in *v.* 789 and *v.* 805, can be

correct as it stands. Now it will be observed, that these two similar lines are the commencement of two *equivalent* passages; the dialogue 789—798 is simply an expansion in lively dramatic form of the couplet 805—6. Further, the speech intervening between the dialogue and the couplet (799—804) is little more than a translation into iambic verse of a passage from the previous chorus *vv.* 714—720. The natural inferences seem to be, (1) that these equivalent passages are in fact alternatives, the dialogue and following speech (789—804) being a *substitute* for the couplet (805—6); (2) that this substitute was not written by Aeschylus himself, but by some one who, having a motive for re-modelling the work, was sufficiently scrupulous to follow the author as closely as possible. The motive can also be divined. That the messenger should make his announcement in a simple and solemn fashion, and that the Chorus should then return at once to their lyric function, is not inconsistent with dramatic art in the stage to which this play belongs, and from a poetical point of view is more than defensible. But a reader or an audience familiar with the later stage would certainly hold that to treat the situation thus is unnatural and wastes a dramatic opportunity. By such a critic and probably for such an audience I conceive *vv.* 789—804 to have been written. This view, which is based upon many previous suggestions though perhaps not before just so stated, will of course essentially modify the treatment

ΧΟ. τί δ' ἐστὶ πρᾶγμα νεόκοτον πόλει πλέον;

ΑΓ. πόλις σέσωσται· βασιλέως δ' ὁμόσποροι—  
[ἄνδρες τεθνᾶσιν ἐκ χειρῶν αὐτομάτων.]

790

ΧΟ. τίνες; τί δ' εἶπας; παραφρονῶ φόβῳ λόγου.

ΑΓ. φρονούσα νῦν ἄκουσον, Οἰδίπου τόκος—

ΧΟ. οἱ ἄγ' ἡ τάλαινα, μάντις εἰμὶ τῶν κακῶν.

ΑΓ. οὐδ' ἀμφιλέκτως μὴν κατεσποδημένοι—

793. αἱ ἐγώ.

of the interpolated passage. The attempt to correct it into the form of Aeschylus has produced hopeless disagreement; but we may avoid almost all the difficulty if we see in it the work of an unknown writer who wished to be at once Aeschylean and smart.

From the same hand, I believe, though this is a distinct question, come the anapaests 807—816. Twice in these few lines is broken the rule deduced from the classical poets by Bentley, that in this metre there is no division of lines, the whole being metrically continuous (*synaphea*): in 809—10 ῥέσθ' ἔ ποτερον, and again in 811—12 δυσδαίμονας ἀρέκνους (for if these lines are scanned continuously we have a concurrence of four short syllables). The rhythm of 811 again is not that of Aeschylus, and few or none suppose it to have been written by him as it is. Other just objections which have been made to the style are given in the notes. The reader must consider whether all this is to be mended by patching half the lines, or whether the present conclusion is simpler, that these anapaests are a moderately successful 'copy' by an imitator who had not studied Aeschylus with the minuteness of Bentley.

I believe, therefore, that this scene would be restored approximately at least to its original form by omitting vv. 789—804 and vv. 807—816. Judged by the standard of realistic and sensational drama, such a scene is doubtless wanting

in just those points which the insertions are intended to supply. Whether Aeschylus would have allowed the improvement may well be doubted, and upon this some remarks will be found in the *Introduction*.

789. βασιλέως δ' ὁμόσποροι (παῖδες): *the king's (Oedipus') twin* —. The sentence here commenced is three times interrupted, and is in fact never finished. Here the incompleteness being obvious the supposed gap has been filled by the semblance of a verse (790), developed probably out of a note. For another instance see Eur. *Med.* 942—3. Vv. 792 and 794 were wrongly supposed to be complete.

790 omitted by Butler. Porson corrected it into ἄνδρες τεθνᾶσιν ἐκ χειρῶν αὐτοκτόνων, omitting v. 789: but apart from other objections there is no intelligible motive for the assumed interpolation of v. 789.—αὐτοκτόνων m.

792. τόκος. This must be here taken as a generic term, *offspring*, not an individual *child*: γόνος has the same two meanings, and τόκος is *offspring* (plural) both in Homer and in Euripides, though not apparently elsewhere so used of human beings.—τόκω (and κατεσποδημένοι in v. 794) Dindorf.

794. Nay, but, in plain words, they have so mauled each other—. οὐδ' ἀμφιλέκτως μὴν: this, like φρονούσα νῦν ἄκουσον in v. 792, is an expression of impatience at the interruption of the Chorus, and is suggested by the words μάντις εἰμὶ—'You

ΧΟ. ἐκείθι κείσθον;—βαρέα δ' οὖν ὅμως φράσον.— 795  
 οὕτως ἀδελφαῖς χερσὶν ἡναίροντ' ἄγαν;—  
 οὕτως ὁ δαίμων κοινὸς ἦν ἀμφοῖν ἅμα;

may dispense with divination, if you will listen to the plain facts'; and he reinforces his remark by using a term very plain, not to say coarse, for the solemnity of the occasion. *σποδεῖν*, as the Lexicon will show, is a strong word of the vulgar vocabulary, frequent in comedy, but in dignified poetry rare. Aeschylus has it in *Ag.* 675 *στρατοῦ σποδουμένου* of a navy in a storm; Euripides twice, of Hippolytus dragged by his horses (*Hip.* 1238), and of a man overwhelmed by a hail of missiles (*Andr.* 1129), and all these passages are put, like the present, in the mouth of a common person telling an exciting story. The still stronger *κατασποδεῖν* is cited only from Aristophanes, *Thesm.* 560.

795. *ἐκείθι κείσθον*; *Are they there, on the ground?* She points with horror in the direction of the gate, still avoiding by a euphemism the word 'dead'.—It is noticeable that the form *ἐκείθι* is unique in the extant Attic tragedy. It *may* be a slip of the writer, though it could not of course be cited as proof in the question of authorship. There is no reason to suspect the verse. The slight irregularity of *τόκος...κατεσποδημένοι...κείσθον* is quite natural in such a broken dialogue.—The Schol. apparently assumes a reading *κῆλθον* (*eis tousouton ἦλθον ὥστε φονευθῆναι τὸν βασιλέα*), *Did they indeed come to that?*: this use of *ἐκείθι* would be even more peculiar than the other: but it seems probable that *κῆλθον* is an ancient conjecture based on a mistaken supposition that *ἐκείθι* is naturally equivalent to *ἐκεῖσε*.

796. The maidens here speak two (if not three) verses without a reply from the soldier. This irregularity is the chief ground on which this passage has been supposed to require re-arrangement. But surely it has an obvious explanation.

The soldier has now made three efforts to tell his story and has been three times stopped. He has already betrayed his impatience. Nothing can be more natural than that he should be slow to begin again, and should not do so till the questioners have come to the truth, and in fact have answered themselves. After *v.* 795 he either does not answer at all, or answers only by a gesture; whereupon *another* of the maidens repeats the question. The MS. is probably right in showing a change of speakers; it is more natural to suppose that *vv.* 788, 791, 793, 795 and 796 are all spoken by different members of the Chorus, and even that 791, 793 and 795 are divided.—*ἡναίροντο* were they *foully used*. This word is not a synonym for *ἐθανον* (note the imperfect tense) but, like *κατεσποδημένοι*, implies the horribleness of the act, though of course with a different sentiment: *ἐναίρειν* is properly 'to use with destructive violence', the notion of killing being secondary, and sometimes not implied at all. Cf. Hom. *Od.* 19. 263, *μηκέτι νῦν χροῖα καλὸν ἐναίρειο*. It is used (as here, with an invidious effect) in Soph. *O. C.* 842 *πόλις ἐναίρεται σθένει*, of a brutal outrage offered to the majesty of the state, and in id. *Phil.* 946 *ἐναίρων νεκρὸν ἢ καπνοῦ σκιά*, id. *frag.* 649 *τοὺς εὐγενεῖς φιλεῖ Ἀρης ἐναίρειν*. Most frequently it is used of the slaying of wild beasts or monsters. In the iambics of tragedy it is very rare.—*ἀδελφαῖς...ἄγαν* together: 'hands too much alike' (see *Lex. s. v. ἀδελφός*), i.e. 'fatally equal', with allusion at the same time to the narrower meaning of the word. The corrections of *ἄγαν* (as *ἅμα*) depend on the assumption that it belongs to the verb.—The form in which the question is repeated (*v.* 797) suggests that *ἀδελφαὶ χεῖρες* was a term of chiromancy.

797. ὁ δαίμων the *fate* or *fortune* of

ΑΓ. αὐτὸς δ' ἀναλοῖ δῆτα δύσποτμον γένος.  
 τοιαῦτα χαίρειν καὶ δακρύεσθαι πάρα  
 πόλιν μὲν εὖ πράσσουσιν, οἱ δ' ἐπιστάται,  
 δισσω στρατηγῶ, διέλαχον σφυρηλάτῳ  
 Σκύθῃ σιδήρῳ κτημάτων παμψησίαν.  
 ἔξουσιν δ' ἣν λάβωσιν ἐν ταφῇ χθονὸς  
 πατρὸς κατ' εὐχὰς δυσπότους φορούμενοι.

800

the family, which overtook them both at once. This *δαίμων* is in a sense a personification of the family itself and of its self-destructive spirit. Hence the manner of expression in *v.* 798.—In the MS. the speech of the soldier is marked as commencing at *v.* 798. This seems right, in which case *v.* 797 must be punctuated as a third question.

799. *τοιαῦτα*: the accusative depends loosely upon *χαίρειν καὶ δακρύεσθαι*. Cf. Eur. *Hipp.* 1340 τοὺς εὐσεβεῖς θεοὶ θνήσκοντας οὐ χαίρουσιν.—*δακρύεσθαι* a reflexive form, strictly 'to be-tear oneself'. This form seems to be unique, though the perfect *δεδάκρυμαι* *I am in tears* is found elsewhere. *κλαίωμαι* (see *v.* 904) is similar, but not precisely.

800. *οἱ δ' ἐπιστάται...διέλαχον*: a variation for *τοὺς δ' ἐπιστάτας διαλαχόντας*, which would be required by strict parallelism of construction: see on *v.* 578.

803. *ἔξουσιν δ' ἣν λάβωσιν ἐν ταφῇ χθονὸς* *they will have of land whatever they shall have received in burial*. *χθονὸς* is a partitive genitive depending on *ἣν* (*ἃν*) *λάβωσιν ἐν ταφῇ* considered as a substantive: cf. Soph. *El.* 653 φίλοις τε ξυνοῦσαν...καὶ τέκνων ὧσιν ἐμοὶ δύσνοια μὴ πάρεστι *with such of my children as bear me not ill-will* (on which see the editor's note to Eur. *Med.* 12).—*χθόνα* Brunck, followed by many editors. But the contrast, which here as in *v.* 717 is clearly intended, between the large kingdom they expected and the little grave they obtained, requires the genitive for its full expression. The form is at most peculiar (if *ὄσῃ* stood for *ἣν* we

could not say as much as this) and should scarcely excite surprise in a passage of such manifold peculiarity.

804. *κατ' εὐχὰς* cf. *v.* 696.—*φορούμενοι*. "*Videri potest hoc intelligendum de exsequiis*" (Hermann); and this, *borne to the grave*, seems to be the only interpretation which the context fairly admits. But, if this be meant, we have another and most remarkable peculiarity of diction, for no authority is produced for *φορεῖν* or even *φορά* in this sense, though *ἐκφορά* is of course regularly so used.—The metaphor from a violent storm, suggested by Paley and others as an alternative, is so irrelevant that it can scarcely be attributed either to Aeschylus or a sensible imitator.—Of the corrections *κληρούμενοι* (Weil) alone gives a good sense, *receiving their shares of the heritage*; but it is a violent change. Possibly *μορούμενοι* might be used in the same sense (see the *Lex. s. v.* *μεῖρομαι, μεμύρημαι*, and note on *αινομόροις v.* 887): it would be a curious form, but scarcely more so than *δακρύεσθαι* (*v.* 799); for the confusion of *φ* and *μ* see *v.* 822.

On reviewing this passage (789—804), it will appear that the details confirm the conclusion drawn above from the general form of it. The number, and still more the nature, of its peculiarities forbid the attempt to correct them by the standard of Aeschylus. Even the general vocabulary is exceptional (*παραφρονῶ, ἀμφιλέκτως, ἀναλῶ, παμψησία* are all noticeable words), and the metre not less so; see the frequent resolved feet in *vv.* 789, 791, 795, 801, and the verse practically without a caesura, 794. Not one of the points

πόλις σέσωσται· βασιλέειν δ' ὁμοσπόρου  
πέπωκεν αἷμα γαί' ὑπ' ἀλλήλων φόνῳ. 805

XO. ὦ μεγάλε Ζεῦ καὶ πολιοῦχοι  
δαίμονες, οἳ δὴ Κάδμου πύργους  
τούσδε ῥύεσθε,  
πότερον χαίρω ἀπολολύξω 810  
πόλεως ἀσινεῖ σωτήρι,  
ἢ τοὺς μογεροὺς καὶ δυσδαίμονας  
ἀτέκνους κλαύσω πολεμάρχους;

806. γὰρ.

807. πολιουσχοι.

809. ῥύεσθαι corr. to ῥύεσθε.

noted, not even perhaps φορούμενοι, would prove anything by itself; collectively, they will, I think, appear decisive to any one who will endeavour to make a parallel collection from any equal number of lines taken elsewhere. But the work is elaborate and not unskilful, and must be, I should suppose, scarcely less ancient than the play itself. A forgery, in any case, it cannot be called; for the retention of the couplet 805—806 indicates that the substituted passage was in the first instance frankly offered for what it is. A forger would have finished his work by expelling the original.

806. ὑπ' ἀλλήλων φόνῳ: the preposition and case depend in sense upon the substantive (*by mutual slaughter*); cf. v. 1015.

807. πολιοῦχοι Pauw. The copyist has inadvertently substituted a more familiar form.

808. οἳ δὴ: *who do indeed* (as we now see) *protect*.

809. τούσδε ῥύεσθαι. The original ῥύεσθαι of the MS. (corrected by the writer himself) must apparently have been merely a common slip of the pen, due to the similar sound of αἰ and ε. The infinitive has no construction. By the strict rule deduced from the tragedians a long syllable is required, as this anapaestic metre does not allow 'common' syllables at the division of the verses. We may of course suppose (with Dindorf) that something is lost after

ῥύεσθε (*e.g.* Σπαρτῶν τε πόλιν), or that the text is otherwise corrupt. But it has not apparently been observed that we have another, less obvious but still inadmissible flaw of metre in 812, as well as the unrhythmical verse 811. My own opinion, as given above, is that, instead of assuming an unusual extent of corruption in this place, we should accept the passage as it stands for a fairly successful imitation. Athens must have contained many men capable of writing fair verse, and also quite capable of ignoring a delicate observance such as the *Synaphea*.

810. ἐπολολύξω aorist subj. *am I to raise the joyous triumph-shout?*

811. *to the harmless saviour of our state, i.e. to (in honour of) Zeus Soter, who saves our city harmless, cf. v. 807.* The transference of the epithet ἀσινεῖς from the effect to the agent, though not at all uncommon in some styles, *e.g.* Elizabethan English, is not easy to parallel in Greek. It could easily be mended by reading ἀσινεῖς (note the initial σ of σωτήρι) agreeing with the subject (πόλεως ἀσινεῖς εὐσολα Ritschl). If this passage is not Aeschylean we have no standard to correct by; it will scarcely be contended that no educated Greek can have written the line as it stands. Of the proposed restorations, that of Hermann, σωτήρι πόλεως ἀσινεῖα, is a fair specimen.

813. ἀτέκνους: ἐπὶ κακῷ τεχθέντας, ἢ τοὺς μὴ τεκνοποιήσαντας schol. With



οὐ δὴτ' ὀρθῶς κατ' ἐπωνυμίαν  
καὶ πολυνεικεῖς  
ᾧλοντ' ἄσεβεϊ διανοίᾳ.  
ὦ μέλαινα καὶ τελεία  
γένεος Οἰδίου τ' ἀρά,

815

στρ.

the first interpretation cf. *δοτολοι* in v. 842. Paley, who prefers the second interpretation, notes as an objection to it that Polynices (according to Pindar *Ol.* II. 38) did leave a son, Thersander. This tradition, however, the writer may have ignored, as the whole play ignores it. Still *childless* is not the expression that would be expected in this place, and I think the first interpretation nearer the mark. The writer imitates such phrases as τέκνα ἀτεκνα, βίος ἀβίος etc., but not, it may be thought, very happily. Possibly he intends to glance at the parentage of the brothers. Note that ἀτέκνους is in either case a predicate, to be taken closely with κλαύσω—*am I to weep for the misfortune of their birth?*, or *that in them their line ends?*—On the metre see above v. 809.

814—815. Several corrections have been proposed in order to bring in a separate allusion to the name *Eteocles*, e.g. Hermann's σύν τ' εὐκλείᾳ καὶ πολυνεικεῖς. But the allusion to *Eteocles* is conveyed in the words ὀρθῶς κατ' ἐπωνυμίαν. The writer interprets *Eteocles* by ἐτεῶς κληζόμενος 'truly called'; and represents the two names of the brothers as forming *together* a symbol of their fate; the name *Πολυνεικής* foreshowing their *common* character and destiny, the name 'Ἐρεόκλης declaring and emphasizing this significance. That this is the meaning is clearly shown by the union of the plural πολυνεικεῖς with the singular ἐπωνυμίαν. Each brother was πολυνεικής, and each perished ἐτεῶς κατ' ἐπωνυμίαν, in accordance with that name. The writer would improve upon the previous references to the significance of Polynices' name as describing his character. The

conception is not very neat, but it cannot be mended by verbal correction.—ἐτεῶς (for ὀρθῶς) Halm, perhaps rightly: ὀρθῶς may be an interpretation.—The junction of πολυνεικεῖς to ὀρθῶς κατ' ἐπωνυμίαν by καὶ is formally irregular, but not incorrect; πολυνεικεῖς, as a predicate, is in effect adverbial and equivalent to πολυνεικέα. But by English usage no conjunction is required or even admissible—they *perished in quarrel, truly fulfilling the fatal name*.

816. ἀσεβεῖ διανοίᾳ by *mutual unnatural hate*; literally 'by unnatural feeling towards each other'. ἀσεβής has the sense of the Latin *impius* 'contrary to natural affection'. The use of διάνοια is thoroughly Aeschylean; it always signifies the feeling of one person towards another, δια- meaning *between*, and νοεῖν feeling or disposition, as in εὐνοῖα, εὐνοία. So in *Eum.* 985 χάσματα δ' ἀντιτιδοῖεν κοινωφελεῖ διανοίᾳ, *ib.* 1013 εἴη δ' ἀγαθῶν ἀγαθὴ διάνοια πολλταῖς, *Ag.* 788 τὰ δοκοῦντ' εὐφρονος ἐκ διανοίας ὑδαρεῖ σάινειν φιλότῃ, *Supp.* 115 διάνοιαν μαινώδην (the passion of the sons of Aegyptus for the Danaides). This, if these lines are an imitation, seems the most successful touch; it may, of course, have been borrowed from some other work.

817. τελεία: the two ideas, 'working its fulfilment' and 'ending the lineage', are both suggested.

818. γένεος Οἰδίου τε upon the race and Oedipus, i.e. upon the race of Oedipus, but with the added suggestion that in his posterity Oedipus has extinguished himself.

819. καρδία, dative singular: for this dative 'of the part affected' see v. 879; it may be explained either as a sort of

κακὸν με καρδίᾳ τι περιπίτνει κρῦος.

ἔτευξα τύμβῳ μέλος

820

Θυιάς, αἵματοσταγείς

νεκροὺς κλύουσα δυσμῶρος

θανόντας· ἡ δύσσορσις ἄ-

δε ξυναυλία δορός.

ἔξέπραξεν, οὐδ' ἀπεῖπεν

825

πατρόθεν εὐκταία φάτις·

βουλαὶ δ' ἄπιστοι, Λαί', οὐ διήρκεσαν

μέριμνα δ' ἀμφὶ πτόλιν·

819. τ\*.

822. δυσφῶρος.

827. λατῶν.

locative or as a variety of the so-called dative 'commodi et incommodi'.—καρδίαν *rec.*, according to the more usual construction.

820. *ἔτευξα τύμβῳ μέλος Θυιάς, I was a Bacchant framing her song to a grave, when I heard etc., i.e. my rapture (at our deliverance) was turned into a strain of mourning.* The point lies in the incongruity of the ideas *τύμβῳ μέλος* and *Θυιάς*, the song of the inspired Bacchant naturally expressing the utmost intensity of enthusiastic delight. See the next note. It is perhaps not rash to conjecture that the phrase, or something like it, was proverbial.—The paraphrase of the Schol. is *ἐπιτυμβίδιον θρήνον ἔτευξα, ὡς Θυιάς*: this however does not imply that he found *ὡς* in the text, and if the above interpretation be correct, it should not be inserted. The interpretation of the Schol. is indeed scarcely intelligible; it was not the function of a *Θυιάς* to sing at a grave.

823. *ἡ δύσσορσις...δορός. Oὐκ inauspicious symphony of war!* They pursue the same idea as in the previous lines, the incongruity of the feelings excited by the fatal victory. The *ξυναυλία δορός* (*martial symphony*) proper to the occasion would have been a song of triumph; but the death of the princes converts this joy to an inauspicious dirge. For the strong and even superstitious feelings

of the Greeks on such matters see *Ag.* 640 *εὐφημον ἡμᾶρ οὐ πρέπει κακαγγέλω γλώσση μαίνειν· χωρὶς ἡ τιμὴ θεῶν*, and notes there. *δορός*: the common poetic symbol of war.—It is usual to refer *ξυναυλία δορός* to the combat of the brothers, called *ξυναυλία* merely by metaphor. But it is surely unnatural to make no connexion between the two references to *music* in vv. 820 and 824, especially as *ξυναυλία* (see *Lex. s. v.*) was actually used of the performance of dirges. And note *ἄδε*, which shows that *ξυναυλία* refers to what is *now* being done.

825. *She hath finished her work, she hath not wearied, the Sentence invoked by a father's voice.*

827—829. The general sense is 'the disobedient attempt of Laius to prolong his race has been punished and defeated, as was foretold by divine prophecy, which never fails'.—*ἄπιστοι* *disobedient* or *infidel*, from *πειθεσθαι*; for the form see on *ἐκτός* v. 251.—*διήρκεσαν* has been supposed—with the *ms.* reading *λατῶν*—to mean 'worked their effect', literally 'lasted out' or 'prevailed'. But though *prevailed* might be capable of this sense, to use it so here involves an extraordinary confusion of ideas. The disobedient intention of Laius did not 'prevail', in the natural sense of the expression; on the contrary, it was defeated.—*μέριμνα δ' ἀμφὶ πτόλιν*. The Scholl. give a

θέσφατ' οὐκ ἀμβλύνεται.

ἰὼ πολύστονοι, τίδ' εἰρ-  
γάσασθ' ἄπιστον· ἦλθε δ' αἰ-

830

paraphrase in two imperfect forms: ἡ δὲ φροντίς, ἣν ἔσχεν ὁ Λαῖος περὶ τὴν μῆνιν (see v. 735), καὶ τὰ θεσπίσματα παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τῆς πόλεως, οὐκ ἀμβλύνεται, φησιν, ἀλλ' ἐκ τοῦ ἐναντίου ὀξέως τελεῖται, and ἡ δὲ φροντίς, ἣν ἔσχεν ὁ Λαῖος περὶ τῆς πόλεως, καὶ τὰ θεσπίσματα παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ, οὐκ ἀμβλύνεται κτλ. From this, even if it were sense in itself, we could not infer that καὶ θέσφατ' (adopted by some editors, with ὡς Θινίης in v. 821) was in the text: the paraphrase seems to be merely a desperate attempt to supply a verb to μέριμνα from the following clause. But the μέριμνα ἀμφὶ πτόλιν, or *public care*, is the intention of Laius, which seemed for a time successful, to gratify himself in spite of Apollo, and yet save the city from the woes denounced (see v. 734), by exposing his offspring, Oedipus. We have a simple meaning without any real change by reading as in the text: *counsels of disobedience, Laius, and forethought for thy country prevailed not*. The apostrophe in the vocative suits v. 830. —δε, not τε, because there is an antithesis between βουλαὶ (μὲν) ἀπιστοὶ, μέριμνα δ' ἀμφὶ πτόλιν: the full meaning is 'disobedience did not prevail, for all thy care of the state'.—μέριμνα in the sense of *design* or *intention* occurs more than once in Pindar, e.g. *Ol.* i. 104 θεὸς ἐπίτροπος ἔων τεαῖσι μῆδεται, 'Ἰέρων, μερίμναισι, which illustrates closely by contrast the meaning supposed here; heaven watches over the 'designs' of Hiero, but crossed those of Laius. Here we have no possessive (σαὶ βουλαὶ), which would weaken the effect; the case of Laius is put as an example of universal law.—βουλαὶ δ' ἀπιστον Λαῖον διήρυσαν μέριμναν ἀμφὶ πτόλιν Hartung. No other suggestion is cited by Wecklein.

829. *The word of God doth not tire, but subdues all hindrance to its accom-*

plishment: cf. οὐδ' ἀπείπεν in v. 825. ἀμβλύς, ἀμβλύνω, ἀπαμβλύνω have frequently this slightly extended sense of 'losing vigour'. ἀμβλύς is so used with pathetic effect in *Eum.* 238, where Orestes, after his long expiatory wanderings, describes himself as no longer in the freshness of his guilt, ἀλλ' ἀμβλὺν ἤδη.

830. τόδ' ἐργάσασθ' ἀπιστον: not *ye did this act of disobedience*; for (1) there is nothing in the context to which τόδε can be referred, and (2) the use of ἀπιστοὶ (v. 827) does not warrant a similar use of the neuter ἀπιστον: the one is, the other is not, analogous to the verb πείθομαι; (3) the antithetic clause which follows, and especially the emphatic οὐ λόγῳ, points strongly to the passive meaning of ἀπιστον, *not believed*. I prefer therefore to translate by *ye made this (truth) to be discredited*, 'made it not believed', taking ἀπιστον as a predicate and ἐργάσασθαι in the sense of 'render', restricted in classical prose to the compound ἀπεργάσασθαι. Examples of this use are cited by Liddell and Scott from Aelian and Lucian, and it has already been noticed (see on v. 621) that the peculiar usages of late prose frequently illustrate those of ancient poetry. When a literary standard begins to fail, ancient irregularity revives, partly by inadvertence, partly by the search for new effects. τόδε will then be the λόγος or doctrine (θέσφατ' οὐκ ἀμβλύνεται), discredited for the time by the defiance of Laius and his house; *but for all that, the lamentable woe did come in stern reality*.—οὐ λόγῳ (ἀλλ' ἔργῳ): no longer in the shape of a doctrine that might be disputed, but in actual punishment. Note δὲ as a strong adversative, in regular prose ἀλλά.

833. The procession bearing the bodies of the brothers, with the sisters Antigone

ακτὰ πῆματ' οὐ λόγῳ.

τάδ' αὐτόδηλα, προὔπτος ἀγγέλου λόγος

διπλαῖν μερίμναιν διδυμανορέα

κάκ' αὐτοφόνα, δίμοιρα τέ-

835

λεια† τὰ πάθη—τί φῶ;

τί δ' ἄλλο γ' ἢ πόνοι πόνων

δόμων ἐφέστιοι;

ἀλλὰ γόνων, ὃ φίλαι, κατ' οὔρον

ἐρέσσετ' ἀμφὶ κρατὶ πόμπιμον χεροῖν

840

πίτυλον, ὃς αἰὲν δι' Ἀχέροντ' ἀμείβεται,

833. πρῶτος.

839. γόνων. οὔρων.

and Ismene as mourners, is seen approaching.—**προὔπτος ἀγγέλου λόγος** *what was told by the messenger is before our eyes.* **προὔπτος** m'.

834—836. The metre being doubtful, it is impossible to restore these lines with certainty. Hermann, assuming them to be iambs, writes **διπλαῖ μερίμναι, δίδυμ' αἰγανόρεα** **κάκ' αὐτοφόνα, δίμοιρα, τέλεα** **τάδε πάθη· τί φῶ;** In the second line **δίμοιρα τέλε'**, **ἄτα** (dual), **πάθη** is nearer, and avoids the objectionable **τάδε**. In a metre so irregular we cannot say that the spondee **ἄτα** is inadmissible. The genitive **μερίμναιν** (the original reading of M according to Vitelli, **μερίμναις** Hermann) is quite defensible, depending on **κάκ' αὐτοφόνα** as a description or equivalent, but the nominative is perhaps more natural.—The speakers vainly seek words to express the energy of their feelings.

837—8. *May I not call them 'the crowningsorrowful of an unhappy home?':* literally, 'Nay, what else are they but—?'. **πόνοι πόνων**, a sort of poetical superlative: **δόμων** possessive: **ἐφέστιοι** 'domestic'.—It seems probable that these words, **πόνοι... ἐφέστιοι**, were a known phrase, perhaps a quotation.

839—846. *But O! let your sighs be the breeze, and the beating of your hands upon your brows that plash of oars, which is ever passing over Acheron: and speed the sad mission of that dark-sailed ship, whereon*

*Apollo sets not his foot nor sunlight falls, to the bourn of all, to the unseen shore.* **γόνων** *recc.* **οὔρον** m'. The construction of these exquisitely beautiful verses permits only a very loose translation into English. The accusatives **πίτυλον** and **θεωρίδα** both depend upon **ἐρέσσετε**, the first as a quasi-cognate accusative, the second as the direct object. (With the common punctuation **ἀμείβεται τὰν κτλ.**, making **θεωρίδα** depend on **ἀμείβεται**, it is necessary either to correct **ἀμείβεται**, or to assume for **ἀμείβεσθαι** the unknown sense of *convey, accompany*. Paley cites for this **προστέλλεσθαι** v. 402 and **προπέμπεσθαι** or **ἀποπέμπεσθαι** *Pers.* 141: but these are both reflexives, 'to send forth for or from oneself'.)—**γόνων κατ' οὔρον** literally 'with a favouring wind of sighs', cf. v. 677.—**ἐρέσσετε...πίτυλον**: the gesture of lamentation (rapid blows of the hands on the head and breast, called *κομμός* from *κόπτειν* *to beat oneself*) is metaphorically compared to the beating of oars. **πόμπιμον πίτυλον** literally 'speeding beat'. **ἀμφὶ κρατὶ** depends upon **πίτυλον**.—**τὰν ἄστυλον...ἀνάλιον**. The ship which carries the dead over the river of the lower world is described by contrast with the sacred ship (*θεωπῆς*), with its white sails, which annually conveyed from Athens to Delos a religious embassy (*θεωπῆς*) in honour of Apollo, the god of light and gladness. The contrast

τὰν ἄστολον μελάγκροκον  
 ναύστολον θεωρίδα,  
 τὰν ἀστιβῆ Ἀπόλλω-  
 νι, τὰν ἀνάλιον,  
 πάνδοκον εἰς ἀφανὴ τε χέρσον.  
 ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἤκουσ' αἶδ' ἐπὶ πρᾶγος  
 πικρὸν Ἀντιγόνη τ' ἡδ' Ἰσμήνη,  
 θρήνον ἀδελφοῖν οὐκ ἀμφιβόλως  
 οἶμαί σφ' ἐρατῶν ἐκ βαθυκόλπων

845

850

842. ἄστονον.

is peculiarly effective, because the association of Apollo with death was so repugnant to religious feeling, that during this mission the Athenians would not execute a capital sentence—a usage rendered illustrious by the case of Socrates, who was respited on this ground.—*ἄστολον*: a correction in the later scholl. (*ἡ ἄστολον καὶ κακῶς ἐσταλμένην*), accepted by Stanley and others and, as it seems to me, certain. *ἄστολον* is opposed to *ναύστολον*, or rather to the final part of it; as *ἄστολος στολή*, according to the common use of negative adjectives, would mean 'an unhappy or ill-omened mission', so *ἄστολον ναύστολον θεωρίδα* is 'an ill-omened mission-ship'; the negative marks that the thing here called *ναύστολος θεωρία* is without some qualities of the thing commonly so called and has the opposite qualities. The *ἄστονον* of the ms. is probably ancient, for it seems to have been the text of the scholl. so far as can be made out from the confused and corrupt paraphrase. λέγει δὲ (*ἄστονον*?) *ὅτι ταύτην ὁδὸν θεωρήτικὴν ὥσπερ οἶδεν ὁ στόνος (?) τὴν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀχέρωντα κτλ.* But it is exactly contrary to the meaning and must be a mere slip of the pen. The scholar Thomas Magister (14th century) cites as from this passage the words *τὰν ναύστολον μελάγκροκον θεωρίδα* (Dindorf), but probably by a slip of memory.—*ὅς αὖν...ἀμείβεται.* *αὖν* may be either 'perpetually', because death and mourning are ever-present, or 'on each occasion', because the *κομμός* is

always the sign of mourning. I prefer the first.—Translated out of metaphor, the passage means 'Mourn with the accustomed rite for the souls now passing into Hades'.

849. *ἀμφιβόλως*: joined to *ἦσεν*—*ambiguously, in two tones*. The different case of the two princes, one in the public view an enemy, the other a patriot who has died for his country, will not affect the sisters, who will mourn them as *brothers* (note the emphasis on *ἀδελφοῖν* v. 849) without distinction. See on v. 851.—*οἶμαι* *I* *throw*; the word implies not doubt, as the English *I think* usually does, but confidence.

850. *ἐρατῶν ἐκ βαθυκόλπων στηθέων* *from their womanly bosoms yearning with love*. The *βαθὺς κόλπος*, the fall of dress over the belt or *στρόφος*, is a fixed mark of women; cf. v. 857 *ὅπως στρόφον ἐσθῆσω περιβίλλονται*, i.e. women: *βαθύκολπα* is in no way an individual epithet, but merely marks the fact of sex. *ἐρατῶν* *passionate, full of love*; cf. *ἐρασθαί to love*, and for parallel forms in *-τος* from verbs of passive form see on vv. 251, 827. The *ἔρω* is their longing for the dead, not of course sexual passion; see the *Lex. s.v. ἔρω*. I cannot cite another clear example of *ἐρατός* in this sense, but considering the rarity of the word (it seems to occur in tragedy only three times, see Eur. *El.* 718, *Her.* 915), it is not at all surprising that an exceptional use of it should be unique. The

στηθέων ἦσειν ἄλγος ἐπάξιον.  
 ἡμᾶς δὲ δίκη πρότερον φήμης  
 τὸν δυσκέλαδόν θ' ὕμνον Ἐρινύος  
 ἡχεῖν Ἀίδα τ'  
 ἐχθρὸν παιᾶν' ἐπιμέλπειν.

855

854. λαχεῖν.

855. ἐχθρῶν.

active use of *πιστός*, an extremely common word, occurs in some half-a-dozen places: *ψαυστος* Soph. *O. T.* 969, *καταληπτός* Eur. *Hipp.* 1347, and others are unique. (It should perhaps be observed that these forms do not *always* correspond to an actual deponent verb, e.g. *ψαυστος*: but in these cases the verb is generally one describing a mutual relation, which is both active and passive; that which *ψαύει* also *ψαύεται*. *καταληπτός* (*Hipp.* l. c.) is not from *καταλαβεῖν τινά* but from *καταλαβέσθαι τινός*: cf. *ἐκτός* v. 251. Forms like *ἀνάληπτος* cannot be here discussed: they seem to have been produced for convenience on a false analogy, and before the 4th century are scarcely known.)—*ἐρατός* is elsewhere passive, *lovely, exciting love*, and is commonly taken so here. But (1) it is the feeling of the sisters which is here in question; an allusion to the passion which they might inspire is surely unsuitable: (2) double epithets in Aeschylus are seldom both *generic*: usually one of them (as *βαθυκόλπων*) is generic and fixed, the other (as *ἐρατῶν*) special to the occasion and, in effect, a predicate; see v. 629.

854. *ἄλγος ἐπάξιον* a grief proportioned to desert. The word *ἐπάξιον* falls within the negation of *οὐκ*: the negative governs the whole description and applies to the words in it which are placed for emphasis first and last, *ἀμφιβόλως* and *ἐπάξιον*. In justice, Eteocles *deserved* to be lamented, Polynices did not, as the government of the city presently declare. But the loving and womanly hearts of Antigone and Ismene will ignore this rigorous distinction, and the maidens naturally sympathize. Afterwards, when authority has spoken

on the other side, their sentiments are divided (v. 1058). It will be seen that this sentence strikes the key-note of this final scene. For *ἐπάξιον* cf. *Eum.* 272 *ἐχονθ' ἑκαστον τῆς δίκης ἐπάξια each punished in proportion to his due*.—I have seen no explanation of vv. 849—851 which satisfies the context and the words. Paley refers *οὐκ ἀμφιβόλως* to the equal grief of the two sisters, but the comparison of their feelings is irrelevant to the play: *ἐπάξιον* he renders by 'worthy of the occasion', but this is not adequate either to the word, which always means *deserved* (or *deserving*), or to its emphatic position, which shows that it is not a superfluous epithet.

852. *πρότερον φήμης*, before the sound, i.e. before their voices are heard.—*ἄκη*. This expression deserves notice. Why is it said to be *proper* or *just* that the Chorus should take this precedence? The explanation lies in the terms, 'hymn of the Avengeress' and 'cruel triumph-song of Death'. A *ὕμνος* or a *παιάν*, being properly an expression of joy, must not of course be interrupted by anything *δύσφημον*, such as a dirge. It is just, therefore, to *Ἐρινύς* and *Ἄιδης* that their ritual should be performed while it may. It is scarcely an objection, that what the Chorus actually sing (vv. 860—940), though it concludes with 'the victorious shout of the fiends' (v. 936) and 'the trophy of Ruin' (v. 938), is in effect itself a dirge. Their concern for the interests of Hades is but the irony of grief. Indeed they are careful to say so (vv. 858, 859).

854. *ἡχεῖν* Elmsley. This word, written in its Doric form *ἄχεῖν*, is frequently

ἰὼ, δυσαδελφόταται πασῶν ὀπόσαι  
 στρόφον ἐσθῆσιν περιβάλλονται,  
 κλαίω, στένομαι, καὶ δόλος οὐδεὶς  
 μὴ 'κ φρενὸς ὀρθῶς με λιγαίνειν.  
 ἰὼ ἰὼ δύσφρονες,  
 φίλων ἄπειστοι καὶ κακῶν ἀτρύμονες,  
 πατρώους δόμους ἐλόν-  
 τες μέλεοι σὺν ἀλκᾷ.

στρ. α'. 860

## 861. ἄπειστοι.

confused with *λαχεῖν*. Here *λαχεῖν* is not admitted by the metre; see on v. 812.

856. ὀπόσαι...περιβάλλονται *i.e.* all women (not 'maidens'); the *στρόφος* is the band below the breasts called in familiar language *στρόφιον*.

858. *στένομαι* a rare form, cited only from the lyric verse of the tragedians. Like the regular *δολοφύρεσθαι* and the anomalous *δακρύεσθαι* (v. 799) it is a sort of reflexive.—*δόλος...λιγαίνειν*. In construction *μὴ...λιγαίνειν* is a consecutive sentence depending on *οὐδεὶς δόλος ἐστὶ*: 'there is no deceit, such that I do not wail from the heart', *i.e.* *my laments come purely and perfectly from the heart*.—These words are highly significant. The maidens guard against the suspicion of feigning more grief than they feel. Why? For the reasons indicated in vv. 849—851 as above explained, and because the irony of vv. 852—855, though natural and forcible, is open to sinister interpretation.

860—940. The music here appears to have been divided between the full-chorus, semi-chorus, single voices of the chorus, Antigone, and Ismene (the two last entering during the 'paean'), but in what parts the text does not determine. The ms., according to Vitelli (Wecklein), marks the division as follows:—vv. 860, 864, 866, 878, 879 (before *πεπλεγμένους*), 880, 883, 895, 899, 910, the *paragraphus* marking a change of speaker; v. 900 (before *δαϊκτήρ*) and 923, *Chorus*; 906

*semi-chorus*; 917, 933 *Ismene*; 929 *Antigone*; 895, 896, 898, marks erased: 860, 864 *semi-chorus* (added by m). This division is obviously imperfect, and in some points, particularly the exact parts assigned to the sisters, not probable. Several proposed arrangements are mentioned in Wecklein's *Appendix*. Hermann and Dindorf distribute the whole in semi-chorus and give no parts to the sisters. As I think this at any rate unsatisfactory, I have marked the parts of the sisters according to the ms., as a reminder of their presence, and otherwise have given no division. Here and there the text itself indicates that the speaker is changed, *e.g.* when there is a reply, as at vv. 864, 873, 878, 917. The details must be left to the consideration of the reader.

861. ἄπειστοι Hartung. Here (and in v. 867) each part of the description points particularly to one of the brothers. The plurals are used according to the habit of Greek poetry when the character rather than the person is described.

φίλων ἄπειστοι *obstinate against counsel* (Eteocles v. 699), κακῶν ἀτρύμονες *hard against misfortune* (the exile Poly-nices v. 620).

862. *Who have won by force the home of your fathers, i.e.* the grave. σὺν ἀλκᾷ *by force, or by war*; σὺν instrumental as in σὺν σιδάρῳ *by the sword* v. 869.—*αἰχμᾷ* m', but the change is quite unnecessary. See v. 485 *βακχᾷ πρὸς ἀλκῆν*, and *Cho.* 236 *ἀλκῇ πεποιθὺς δῶμ' ἀνακτήσῃ πατρός*.

μέλαιοι δῆθ' οἱ μελέους θανάτους

ἤϋροντο δόμων ἐπὶ λύμῃ.

865

ἰὼ ἰὼ δωμάτων

ἀντ. α'.

ἔρειψίτοιχοι καὶ πικρὰς μοναρχίας

ιδόντες, ἤδη διήλ-

λαχθε σὺν σιδάρφ.

κάρτα δ' ἀληθῇ πατρός Οἰδιπόδα

870

πότνι' Ἐρινὺς ἐπέκρανεν.

δὶ εὐωνύμων τετυμμένοι—

στρ. β'.

τετυμμένοι δῆθ'—

ὁμοσπλάγχθων τε πλευρωμάτων,

αἰαὶ δαιμόνιοι,

875

αἰαὶ δ' ἀντιφόνων

θανάτων ἀραί.

διανταίαν λέγεις δόμοισι καὶ

σώμασιν πεπλαγμένους,—ἐννέπω.—

867. ἔρειψίταχοι.

869. After this verse a note οὐκ ἔρ' ἐπὶ φίλῃ ἀλλ' ἐπὶ

φόνῳ διεκρίθητε removed by Triclinius.

873. δῆτα.

878. λέγει σπληγάν.

866. *who brake* (like a foe or a thief) *into your house* (Polynices), *who paid dear for undivided royalty* (Eteocles). —πικρὰς ἰδόντες: 'found it bitter'; for this use of πικρός see v. 717, Eur. *Bacch.* 357 ὡς ἂν λευσιμου δίκης τυχὼν θάνη πικρὰν βάκχευσιν ἐν Θήβαις ἰδῶν.

870. κάρτα ἀληθῇ ἐπέκρανεν *hath made right true fulfilment*. ἀληθῇ is neuter plural, an adverbial accusative. Paley criticizes the 'ellipse of κατεύγματα', and several corrections have been proposed on the same assumption: *κατὰ ρὰς δῆθ' ἡ* Wecklein, *τὰ πρὸς Οἰδιπόδα* Francken. But surely πατρός depends on Ἐρινύς.

872. The description or address is resumed from v. 869, as a Schol. observes. δὶ εὐωνύμων τετυμμένοι (*struck through the left!*) is an exclamation, the bodies being now upon the scene and the wounds visible. Another voice takes up and repeats the exclamation. Naturally in such a case there is no verb, which would spoil the effect. Cf. v. 917.

874. If the antistrophe (vv. 885—6) is correct, something having the metre ~ ~ ~ is lost after v. 874 (Lachmann). But the mistake seems to be in the antistrophe.

878. διανταίαν πεπλαγμένους: for the ellipse of πλαγὰν cf. *Cho.* 638 διανταίαν οὐτᾶ. The ms. incorporates an explanatory note. (Elmsley.)—δόμοισι καὶ σώμασιν: for the dative see v. 819. The same stroke destroys both them and their house.—λέγεις, a poetical form of assent, cf. *Cho.* 443 λέγεις πατρώων μύθων, *the burial of my father was as thou sayest*. Note the curious echo of sound αἰαὶ δ' ἀντι—δι ἀνταὶ αὐ.

879. ἐννέπω is the reply (*Aye, even so!*) to λέγεις. There is nothing answering to it metrically in v. 891, and Elmsley omits it on this ground. But it is not very easy to explain the interpolation, and it seems not impossible that such an ejaculation should be treated as no part of the strophe.



ἀναυδάτῳ μένει 880  
 ἀραίῳ τ' ἐκ πατρὸς  
 διχόφρονι πότμῳ.  
 διήκει δὲ καὶ πόλιν στόνος, ἀντ. β'.  
 στένουσι πύργοι,  
 στένει πέδον φίλανδρον, μένει 885  
 δι' ὧν αἰνομόροις, 887  
 δι' ὧν νεῖκος ἔβα

885. μενεῖ.

886. κτέανά τ' ἐπιγόνους.

880. μένει...πότμῳ, causal datives. ἀναυδάτῳ μένει *horrible passion*, i.e. their own ungovernable hatred, not Oedipus' anger. ἀναύδατος, 'indescribable', i.e. 'inconceivable, impossible, unnatural', a synonym of ἀφατος and of the Latin *infandus, nefandus*. This is the only known use of the word. Cf. Eur. *Ion* 783 ἀφατον ἄρρητον ἀναύδατον λόγον, Soph. *AI.* 713 οὐδὲν ἀναύδατον φατίσμαι' ἂν *nothing seems inconceivable*. Of the active sense *speechless* (sometimes assigned to this passage, as by Liddell and Scott, but very inappropriately) there seems to be no example. In Soph. *Trach.* 967 ἀναύδατος is merely a conjecture.

882. διχόφρονι πότμῳ. The strophe and antistrophe (v. 894) do not agree, and as neither is clear, correction is uncertain. διχόφρων, a unique word, must mean *discordant, at variance*, the opposite of σύμφρων, *concordant, of one mind* (*Ag.* 112 of the brothers Agamemnon and Menelaus), and would naturally be the epithet of persons rather than of such a word as πότμος. Nor is the combination of the two epithets ἀραίῳ διχόφρονι very satisfactory. Apart from the antistrophe, the obvious correction here would be διχόφρονες—*set against one another by unnatural hate and by the fate which their father invoked*. The schol. οὐχ ὁμονοοῦντες (-tas?) points in the same direction, and changes of inflexion to suit a neighbouring word are an extremely common form of error. As to the question of metre see on vv. 892—4.—

σὺν διχόφρονι Hermann; οὐ διχόφρονι (in the sense of *similar*) Wecklein.

885. μένει δι' ὧν αἰνομόροις, δι' ὧν νεῖκος ἔβα θανάτου τέλος: *the cause, alas! the cause for which the partitioners furiously contended even to death*. μένει δι' ὧν, literally 'from fury produced by which (possessions)': ὧν is neuter, the antecedent being ἐκεῖνα *those things*, viz. the πόλις, πύργοι, and πέδον, the royal inheritance of the house. A prose writer would have said δι' ἃ, but the two constructions are not accurately distinguished in poetry. μένει, causal dative, as in v. 880; for the close connexion between μένει and δι' ὧν cf. v. 806 ὑπ' ἀλλήλων φόνῳ.—αἰνομόροις: there is an ambiguity in this word, which cannot be reproduced, *miserable in their death and in their partition or shares* (cf. μόρος, μύρα, μοῖρα, μεμώρημαι). Their *share was death*; cf. vv. 713, 801, 890 etc.—θανάτου τέλος: τέλος is local accusative (place to which) depending on ἔβα: θανάτου gen. of definition, 'the end death'. καί, if genuine, would mean *even*; but it is rightly omitted by C. G. Haupt on the metrical evidence (see v. 877), and seems to have been added by a reader who took τέλος for a nominative.—μένει κτέανά τ' ἐπιγόνους δι' ὧν (MS.): 'the possessions, for which they died, will remain to their descendants'. ἄλλους ἔσται τὰ χρήματα δι' ἃ ἀπώλοντο schol. There is the strongest evidence that the words κτέανά τ' ἐπιγόνους are an interpolated explanation, due to a misunderstanding of μένει:

[καὶ] θανάτου τέλος.  
 ἐμοιράσαντο δ' ὄξυκάρδιοι  
 κτήμαθ', ὥστ' ἴσον λαχεῖν.  
 διαλλακτῆρι δ' οὐκ  
 ἀμεμφεία φίλοις,

890

893. ἀμεμφία.

(1) there is nothing answering to them in the strophe (vv. 874—5); (2) there is no such connexion between the clauses as to justify the use of τε; (3) the position of τε, there being no special connexion between μενεῖ and κτέανα or special emphasis on κτέανα, is incorrect; (4) the supposed use of μένω is incorrect; no parallel to it has been produced or, I believe, can be. Moreover μενεῖ κτέανα ἐπιγόνους, with the emphasis on the verb, would mean, if anything, 'the inheritance will not be lost to their posterity', whereas the meaning assumed is 'the inheritance will pass away to their posterity'; (5) the allusion to posterity is against the whole tenor of the play and of this lamentation, which assumes throughout that the curse of the house of Laius has now finished its work, and that the line is at an end (see especially the emphatic language of vv. 933—949 τελευτᾷ, παντρώψω φυγᾷ γένους, ἔλῃδε δαίμων). According to the Argive traditions Polynices, having married in Argos the daughter of Adrastus, left a son Thersander, who took part in the expedition of the *Epigoni* (the descendants of the first invaders. See *Introduction*). This was the story of the epic *Thebais* and *Epigoni*: but the very passage of Pindar, which is our chief authority for it, betrays upon attentive examination that it was a supplement, connected with the genealogy of a great family, the Emmenidae of Argos, and that the ancient story ended, as the moral requires, with the extinction of the disobedient house. Pindar relates the sin of Laius, and the story of Oedipus, and continues thus, ἰδοῖσα δ' ὄξει' Ἑρινὺς ἔπεφνέ οἱ (Oedipus) σὺν ἀλλαοφονίᾳ γένος ἀρήκον.—λείφθη δὲ Θέρανδρος ἐριπέντι

Πολυνεΐκει, ... ὅθεν σπέρματος ἔχοντα βίαν πρέπει τὸν Αἰνησιδάμου κτλ. (*Ol.* II. 74). Aeschylus at any rate in this play takes no notice of Thersander; and even supposing his existence, it would be absurd that Cadmean women should regard as the heir of Cadmus this grandson of Adrastus and son of an exile slain in arms against his country. Whether Polynices had left a son or no, the brothers had left no successor.—That it is Thersander whom the writer here has in mind, is probable (as Paley remarks) from the use of the word Ἑπίγονοι; but this alone would indicate that the passage has been garbled.

892—94. ἀμεμφία Hermann.—διαλλακτῆρ, the mediator or arbitrator, i.e. σίδηρος the sword, see vv. 717, 802 etc.—μέμφονται δὲ οἱ φίλοι αὐτῶν τὸν διαλλακτῆρα σίδηρον ὡς μηδετέρῳ χαρισάμενον, 'the friends of the (respective) parties are dissatisfied with the arbitrator, the sword, as having favoured neither', schol.; taking ἐπίχαρις in an active sense, 'partial, showing favour', as ἐπίφθονος 'feeling dislike'. But this cannot be right: it would require that the emphasis should be on φίλοις (not as it is, on διαλλακτῆρι), and that οὐκ ἀμεμφία should be expressed in positive form, not to mention other objections. If διαλλακτῆρι δ' οὐκ ἀμεμφία is right, as there is no reason to doubt, the contrast is between the partition, which is equal, and the conduct of the arbitrator, which is nevertheless not unimpeachable. But an arbitrator would be impeachable for being partial, not for being impartial, and this points to an error in v. 894. Metre gives us no assistance, the answering verse 882 being

οὐδ' ἐπίχαρις Ἄρης.

σιδηρόπληκτοι μὲν ὧδ' ἔχουσιν,

στρ. γ'. 895

σιδηρόπληκτοι δὲ τοὺς μένουσι—

τάχ' ἂν τις εἴποι, τίνες;

τάφων πατρῶν λαχαί.

δόμων μάλ' ἀχάεσσα τοὺς†

896. μένουσι τετυμμένοι δὴθ' ὁμοῦ (see v. 873)—text *rec.*

itself uncertain. The sense would be satisfied (and the metre also if *διχόφρονος* be right in v. 882) by *ἐπίχαρις δ' Ἄρης*—*in the partition their shares are equal; yet against the mediator they that loved them are not without complaint; he hath been partial—unto Ares.* *ἐπίχαρις* will then be not active but passive, 'receiving favour'; the form admits either meaning, cf. *ἐπιφθονος* (*disliking* or *disliked*), *ἐπιμομφος* (*blaming* or *blamable*), *ἐπικίνδυνος* (*dangerous* or *in danger*). The award of *σίδηρος* is equal as between the combatants, and yet he has been determined by favour, for he has given the two victims to his friend the war-god (see v. 230 *τούτῳ γὰρ Ἄρης βόσκεται, φόνῳ βροτῶν*). For *οὐκ... δέ ποτ'... οὐκ*, see on 411—12; in English we require no conjunction, or if any, *for*. The dative *διαλλακτήρι* depends on *ἀμεμφεία*, which has the construction of *μέμφομαι*.—Wecklein reconciles the two clauses by omitting the negative in the first (*δ' οὖν* for *δ' οὐκ*) retaining it in the second. 'The friends have no complaint against the mediator, and Ares is not partial'. But this again, like the interpretation of the schol., takes no account of the emphasis, which should then be not on *διαλλακτήρι* but on *ἀμεμφεία*.—The fact that *ἐπίχαρις* in common prose was used in a sense wholly inapplicable to Ἄρης (*charming*, from *χάρις* in the sense of *charm*) sufficiently accounts for the false reading.

895. *σιδηρόπληκτοι*: *σιδαρόπληκτοι* Robortello. The word is suggested by the preceding reference to the *διαλλακτήρι* in v. 892.

898. *λαχαί*: αἱ *σκαφαί*, <ὥς> τὸ "φυτὸν ἀμφελάχαινε" (Hom. *Od.* 24. 241) schol. The requirements of the context show that this is a genuine tradition. The sense is 'By *σίδηρος* (the sword) they fell, and by *σίδηρος* (the spade) they shall be buried'. This is put in the form of an enigmatical question, the answer to which is at the same time a play upon the words *λαχῆ digging* and *λάχη portion*, a synonym of *λήξις*, and related to *λαχεῖν* as *λαβή* (*λήψις*) to *λαβεῖν*. The *portion* of their inheritance, which awaits them, is the grave *dug* for them. Cf. vv. 718, 774, 801—3, 929. A comparison of these passages suggests a doubt whether we ought not to read *λάχωσιν* for *λάβωσιν* in 803. *λάχη* (*λήξις*) is cited by Hesychius; of *λαχῆ* (*λαχαίνω*) there seems to be no other trace but this passage. Such a form of expression at such a moment is, like the style of this lament generally, strange to our feelings; but it is thoroughly characteristic of Aeschylus. Some remarks on this subject will be found in the second *Appendix*. The epithet *σιδηρόπληκτοι* (*made with blows of iron*) belongs properly only to *λαχαί*, but the passages cited show that *λάχαι* is also in view. It should be noted that the accentuation of *λάχη* (*λήξις*) is uncertain. It is paroxytone in Hesychius (cf. *τύχη*), but the great majority of these forms are oxytone.—*τοὺς* demonstrative; *these same*.

899. Corrupt, and not to be restored with certainty. From the antistrophe (v. 910) it is probable that the form of the verse

προπέμπει δαϊκτήρ γόος αὐ-  
τόστονος αὐτοπήμων  
δαίφρων δ', οὐ φιλογαθῆς ἐτύμως  
δακρυχέων δ' ἐκ φρενός, ἃ  
κλαιόμενας μου μινύθει

902. δαίφρων.

was τοὺς... μάλ' ἀχάεσσα. The substantive with which ἀχάεσσα agreed is lost: Weil suggests *lā voice* (reading ἀχάεσσ' *lā* and changing the antistrophe): τοὺς *lā* μάλ' ἀχάεσσα will suit both sense and metre (see *Appendix* on metres). δόμων seems to be an interpolation here and may be strongly suspected to have been originally a variant, perhaps the correct reading, for τάφων in v. 898; cf. πατρώους δόμους in v. 862, and see note there.

900. δαϊκτήρ γόος the rending sigh. αὐτόστονος, αὐτοπήμων of grief unforced and genuine pain, the prefix αὐτο- implying spontaneity.—δαίφρων δέ: *though in the heart of a foe*, because, the brothers being at war, those who lament as the friends of one must lament as the enemies of the other. This contrariety of sympathies and the perplexities arising from it form the burden of this whole scene and lead up to that which follows. See especially vv. 846—859, 906—909, and compare the significant words in the *Supplices* (928) of Euripides, whose plays on this subject are written with constant reference to Aeschylus, τὸν Οἰδίπουν δὲ παῖδα, Πολυνείκη λέγω, ἡμεῖς (*we Athenians*, as opposed to his countrymen) ἐπαινέσαντες οὐ ψευδομεθ' ἄν.—Aldus and the editors generally omit δ', taking δαίφρων (or δαυδφρων Blomfield) in the sense of *miserable*: but apart from the injury to the point, δαῖος is not thus used by Aeschylus (in *Pers.* 284 Πέρσαις δαίοις it means *martial*, as in *Soph. Ai.* 365 and *Aristoph. Frogs* 1022, and see *ἐν δαί* v. 909): nor indeed is it at all clear that it ever had this meaning. In *Soph. Ai.* 784 ὦ δαῖτα Τέκμησσα, δύσμορον γένος, perhaps the strongest apparent case, the

proper meaning *hostis* (*stranger*), referring to the birth and status of Tecmessa, is quite applicable.—As to the form, there is no objection to δαίφρων except that of metre, on which see the *Appendix*.

902. οὐ φιλογαθῆς *not ready to rejoice* like a false mourning which covers indifference. ἐτύμως...μινύθει: *but weeping drops which come, not in mere phrase, 'from the heart'; for my heart doth waste away as I dissolve in tears for etc.* ἐτύμως (*literally*) here, as *εἴρυμος* and *ἐτήρυμος* almost always in Aeschylus, refers to the verbal truth or exactness of the language used. Most frequently they have in Aeschylus the meaning which they still retain, and mark an *etymological* suggestiveness in the form of a word (see the second *Appendix*). Here the *εἴρυμος* is in the phrase ἐκ φρενός, which in common metaphorical use signified no more than *sincerely* (see v. 859), but is realized literally by the violence of passionate sorrow, in which the heart seems actually to weep itself away and be dissolved. The rare passive form κλαίομαι is scarcely here to be considered as a synonym of κλαίω: it is at all events most appropriate to the special sense, for the mourner is regarded rather as the patient than the agent of his sorrow.—δε should not be omitted as by a late ms. and some editions; it marks the antithesis between φιλογαθῆς and the following phrase. The position of it after instead of before δακρυχέων is justified to the ear by the fact that the antithesis is not between φιλογαθῆς and ἐτύμως but between φιλογαθῆς and δακρυχέων ἐκ φρενός. The natural order would be δακρυχέων δ' ἐκ φρενός ἐτύμως, but ἐτύμως is shifted from its place to

τοῖνδε δυοῖν ἀνάκτοιν.  
 πάρεστι δ' εἰπεῖν ἐπ' ἀθλίοισιν  
 ὡς ἐρξάτην πολλὰ μὲν πολίταις  
 ξένων τε πάντων στίχας  
 πολυφθόρους ἐν δαί.  
 δυσδαίμων σφιν ἡ τεκούσα  
 πρὸ πασᾶν γυναικῶν ὀπόσαι  
 τεκνογόνοι κέκληνται.  
 παῖδα τὸν αὐτᾶς πόσιν αὐτᾶ θεμένα  
 τοῖσδ' ἔτεχ', οἳ δ' ὧδ' ἔτελεύ-  
 τασαν ὑπ' ἀλλαλοφόνοις  
 χερσὶν ὁμοσπόροισιν.

905  
 ἀντ. γ'.

910

915

905. διοῖν.

emphasize the special point: the order ἐτύμως δὲ δακρυχέων ἐκ φρενός would be neither natural nor appropriate to the emphasis.

906. The eulogium pronounced by custom over (ἐπὶ) dead warriors would naturally declare their many deeds of valour done on the ranks of the foe. How then is the common eulogy of the two princes to be phrased? For the deeds of Polynices were done upon those who were the fellow-citizens of Eteocles, and properly speaking his own; and the deeds of Eteocles upon those, who, if not the πολῖται, were 'all of them ξένοι' of Polynices. The word πάντων is inserted because in the strict sense the Argives only were his ξένοι, but the term might be naturally extended to all the confederates who espoused his cause. It would simplify the expression to read πάντως (at all events ξένοι) but it is not necessary. The word ξένων has the effect of a surprise; the antithesis to πολλὰ μὲν πολίταις should have been δῖων τε στίχας. For the connexion of this with the preceding see notes on vv. 851, 858.—μὲν... τε indeed...but also, or though...yet also: cf. Eur. Med. 429 μακρὸς δ' αἰὼν ἔχει πολλὰ μὲν ἀμετέραν ἀνδρῶν τε μοῖραν εἰπεῖν in the long history of time there is many a hard word, some doubtless for our

sex, but some for the men also.—πολί-  
 ταις. In the later MSS. and modern editions this is changed to πολίτας, on the assumption that it depends directly on ἐρξάτην: δρᾶν τί τινα, not δρᾶν τί τινη, being the correct construction. But the balance of the sentence shows that, if we change at all, we ought to write not πολίτας but πολιτᾶν (genitive plural), the full form being ἐρξάτην πολλὰ μὲν πολιτῶν στίχας, πολλὰ τε ξένων στίχας. With πολίτας we should require ξένους (not ξένων στίχας) in the parallel clause. We should not however write even πολιτᾶν, for πολίταις has the same meaning. It is the possessive dative, for which see vv. 167, 621, 910 etc. and cf. Eur. Med. 283 μή μοι τι δράσης παῖδ' ἀνέκστον κακόν (my child), ib. 1304 μή μοι τι δράσωσι (παῖδας) οἱ προσήκοντες γένει. In parallel clauses of this kind the two possessive cases, genitive and dative, are not unfrequently interchanged for mere variety; e.g. in Eur. Hipp. 188 λύπη τε φρενῶν χερσὶν τε πόνος.—πολυφθόρους passive, slain in numbers.

915. ἀλλαλοφόνοις ... ὁμοσπόροισιν: see on v. 629.

917—920. The word διατομαῖς here is commonly declared corrupt for two reasons, (1) the metre and doubtful reading of the antistrophe v. 930, (2) the ab-

[ΙΣ.] ὁμόςποροι δῆτα καὶ πανώλεθροι,  
 διατομαῖς οὐ φίλαις,  
 ἔριδι μαινομένα,  
 νείκεος ἐν τελευτᾷ.  
 πέπανται δ' ἔχθος, ἐν δὲ γαίᾳ  
 ζῶα φονορρῦτφ  
 μέμικται· κάρτα δ' εἶσ' ὄμαιμοι.

στρ. δ'.

920

surdity of the description οὐ φίλαις, if διατομαί is referred as by the Schol. to the wounds of the combatants (διατέμνοντες ἀλλήλους), as if to cut a man to pieces were usually the act of a friend. The first argument has of course no force if this passage is itself explicable; but the second is irresistible as far as it goes. But Weil, who suggests διανομαῖς, and Oberdick, who suggests διαλλαγαῖς, have perceived, what a comparison of νείκεος in v. 920 with νεικέων in v. 924 clearly shows, that the reference is to the disputed *partition* of the inheritance. And, this seen, there is no reason for changing διατομαῖς at all. Wherever the inheritance is mentioned it is the *land* which is chiefly in view, as appears from the repeated contrast between the broad acres and the narrow grave; and for marking off portions of land τέμνει (see the *Lex. s.v.*, and compare τέμενος) is the appropriate word. There remain however two difficulties: (1) οὐ φίλαις *not friendly*, though not absurd as applied to a partition, is still strangely weak, *unless there is some point in the contrast with a friendly partition*: and (2) a much graver difficulty, what is the point of joining ὁμόςποροι (with an emphasis, note δῆτα) so closely to πανώλεθροι κτλ.? What is the sense of 'brothers indeed and altogether destroyed' or 'ruined'? There is one supposition however which will completely solve the problem—that in ὁμόςποροι, as in σιδηρόπληκτοι λαχαί v. 896, in ἐκ φρενός v. 903, and in ὄμαιμοι v. 923, there is a double meaning. The analogy of ὁμόσκηρος, ὁμοτράπεζος, ὁμότεχνος, ὁμοσίπνοος etc. shows that ὁμόςποροι would be a

proper description of persons who owned and farmed a piece of land in common, contributing the seed and dividing the crops. Sophocles (*O. T.* 460) describes Oedipus as ὁμόςπορος τοῦ πατρός, and Jocasta (*ib.* 260) as ὁμόςπορος γυνή, expressions which exactly illustrate the use of the word here supposed. When two such tenants desire a partition of the common land, they may effect it of course, much to their advantage, by friendly arrangement (διατομαί φίλαι): but they may be so unwise as to carry their dispute before the law (ἐριδι μαινομένα, see the legal metaphors in the following lines and particularly v. 927); in which case they will not improbably find themselves when the contest is over (νείκεος ἐν τελευτᾷ), like the brother princes, πανώλεθροι or 'utterly ruined'. For the second sense given to ὁμόςπορος I cannot cite an extant example, but the complete and simple explanation which it furnishes of a passage otherwise hopeless seems to justify an assumption, which, as the custom is familiar in all ages and places, can hardly appear extravagant. διατομαῖς and ἔριδι are causal datives, the second explaining the first. The ὁμόςποροι are ruined because they do not settle their affairs amicably, and this they do not do because they are madly contentious.—For the omission of the verb to ὁμόςποροι cf. v. 872.

923. κάρτα...ὄμαιμοι: an equivocation (cf. ὁμόςποροι v. 917) between the senses 'of one blood (kindred)' and 'whose blood is mingled'. Among various savage and half-civilised races the mingling of the blood of two persons

πικρὸς λυτὴρ νεικέων ὁ πόντιος  
 ξείνος ἐκ πυρὸς συθείς  
 θηκτὸς σίδαρος· πικρὸς δὲ χρημάτων  
 κακὸς दाτητὰς Ἀρης, ἄρὰν  
 πατρὸς τιθεὶς ἀλαθῇ.

925

[AN.] ἔχουσι μοῖραν λαχόντες μέλει  
 διοςδότων ἀχέων·

ἀντ. δ.

930

927. ἄρὰ corr. to ἄρὰν.

929. ὦ μέλει *recc.*

is a well-known ceremony for making a connexion between them or an artificial kindred (see e.g. Robertson Smith *Kinship in Ancient Arabia*, p. 50, Cameron *Across Africa*, vol. I. p. 333): and this passage suggests what is quite probable in itself, that a similar custom at some time prevailed among the Greeks: see also Plato *Critias*, p. 110. It cannot of course be inferred with certainty, not being necessary to the sense, and in any case we need not suppose a conscious allusion to it, as in this and many other such mystic equivocations Aeschylus probably follows the authority of a consecrated tradition.

924. πικρὸς. 'Dearly have they paid for the ending of their strife (by the sword)' i.e. for the arbitration of the sword. See on v. 867.—πόντιος from the *Main*: ἔθνος γὰρ ἐν τῷ Πόντῳ οἱ Χάλυβες, ὅθεν ὁ σίδηρος schol. For this use of Πόντος (the Euxine) as a proper name cf. Eur. *Med.* 433 διδόμενος πόντου πέτρας, of the *Symplegades* rocks at the entrance of the Euxine.

925. ἐκ πυρὸς συθείς θηκτὸς *sped sharp from the fire*, i.e. having taken a cruel temper from the fire in which it was forged. These words mark the point of πικρὸς, which is again equivocal, being applicable to the sword literally in the sense of 'sharp' (cf. πικρὸς διστός, πικρὰ βέλεμα etc.) and metaphorically in the sense above explained 'bitter', i.e. fatal, to those who sought its arbitration.

926. The construction is πικρὸς χρημάτων दाτητὰς ὁ κακὸς Ἀρης. κακὸς *false*,

because the sentence has been given in the interest of Ares himself through his friend and representative σίδηρος: see on v. 894. For this meaning see Eur. *Med.* 84 κακὸς γ' ὢν ἐς φίλους ἀλίσκεται, *Or.* 740 κακὸς ἐφωράθη φίλοις, *ibid.* 736, 748, *Soph. O. T.* 582.

927. A comparison with the metre of vv. 939, 940 shows a defect here. ἄρὰν πατρώ-αν τιθεὶς ἀλαθῇ Bothe, *realising a father's curse*, πατρὸς being in that case an explanation of πατρώ-αν. This is not perfectly satisfactory, as there is no connexion between the fulfilling of a curse and *arbitration*, which is the ruling metaphor of the sentence. It seems more probable that in πατρὸς τιθεὶς we should find *προστιθεὶς* (*assigning, awarding*), *προσ* being an abbreviation for πατρὸς and sometimes confused with it: ἄρὰν πατρὸς *προστιθεὶς ἀλαθῇ*, *awarding to them their father's curse realized or the fulfilment of their father's curse*, would give appropriate sense.—Note the assonance of Ἀρης ἄρὰν which is undoubtedly intentional, and in fact a play of sound; Ares has behaved according to his appellation.

929. μοῖραν *portion, share*, but with a glance at the alternative sense, 'they have received their doom'; cf. Eur. *Phoen.* 1547 ποῖα μοῖρα ἔλιπον φάος; and *Med.* 987 μοῖραν θανάτου.

930. διοςδότων. διοδότης Bothe, *divided* Meineke, for metre (see v. 917). But it is possible that *διος-* was pronounced as a monosyllable, which would give sufficiently accurate correspondence.—ἀχέων. Unless—a possi-

ὑπὸ δὲ σώματι γὰς  
 πλούτος ἄβυσσος ἔσται.  
 [ΙΣ.] ἰὼ πολλοῖς ἐπανθίσαντες  
 πόνοισι γενεάν  
 τελευτᾷ δ' αἰδ' ἐπηλάλαξαν

935

933. ἐπανθήσαντες.

934. γενεάν· πόνοισι γε δόμους.

935. αἰδ'.

bility not to be overlooked—this *ἄχος* is an unknown (perhaps local) word, it must be an error: *ἄχος* *uox* suits neither the metre nor the sense. The sense refuses both *ἀχθέων* (Hermann) and *ἀλγέων* (Blomfield). The word must be descriptive of the royal property or inheritance—*διόσδοτος*, because the rights of kings (*διοτρεφεῖς βασιλῆες*) are especially the gift of Zeus. Perhaps *ἀρχέων*, genitive of *ἀρχαὶ sovereignty, realm*: there is nothing improbable in the use of such an 'epic' form in the composite and irregular language of tragic lyrics.

931. γὰς πλούτος with irony. Their greed of land will be satisfied.

933—940. 'Alas, for the renown of the royal house, overthrown by this final victory of Fate!' With such words 'the triumph-song of Death' (*v.* 854) appropriately concludes. For the form of the antithesis, *ἐπανθίσαντες*—*ἐπηλάλαξαν* δέ, see *v.* 800. *ἐπανθίσαντες* Bothe. The intransitive *ἐπανθήσαντες* of the ms. is not excluded by the metre; a long vowel often answering to a short in *ithesis* (syllables on which the beat of the rhythm does not fall), even in the most severe strophic metres. With *ἐπανθήσαντες* we must take the alternative *πόνοισι γε δόμοι* (correcting thus), and this has the advantage of clearness, for *ἐπανθίσαντες γενεάν* might refer only to the brothers, which, as the sequel shows, is not the intention. In either case, *ἄθος* signifies the wreath of honour, as frequently in Pindar. See *Ol.* VII. 80 *δέθλοισι, τῶν ἄνθεσι Διαγόρας ἐστεφανώσατο δὲς*, *Nem.* V. 54 *ἀνθέν ποιᾶντα στεφανώματα*, *Ol.* II. 50 *ἄνθεα τεθρίπων*, *Ol.* IX.

48, VI. 105 *ὑμνων ἄνθεα* (*ἄθος*), *Nem.* IX. 39 *Ἐκτορι κλέος ἀνθήσαι*. *Eur. Hec.* 1210 *Ἐκτορός τ' ἦνθαι δόρυ* (*was triumphant*) etc.—*πόνοισι* *feats, enterprises*, as in the phrase *πόνοι Ἡρακλῆος*, and several times in Pindar, *Pyth.* IV. 243 *ἤλπετο οὐκέτι οἱ κείνων γε πράξεσθαι πόνον* (of Aëetes sending Jason to encounter the dragon), *Ol.* VI. 11 *εἰ καλὸν τι ποναθῇ*, *Isth.* III. 17 *καὶ ματρίθε Λαβδακίδαισιν σύννομοι πλούτου διέστειχον τετραοριᾶν πόνους* (of a family which claimed descent through the female line from this house of Laius itself), *Ol.* V. 15 *πόνος δαπάνα τε μάρναται πρὸς ἔργον*, *Eur. Suppl.* 317 *φαῖλον ἄθλησαι πόνον*, *Auct. Rhés.* 197 *πόνος εὐκλεῆς* (*a glorious enterprise*), *Soph. Ant.* 907 *τόνδ' ἂν ἡρόμην πόνον*, and in the proverbs *πόνος εὐδοξίας πατήρ, οἱ πόνοι τίκτουν τὴν εὐδοξίαν*, etc. The reference is not specially to the martial renown of the brothers but to all those who have glorified the famous house which has so long contended against Fate, and particularly to Oedipus (see *v.* 757).—The schol. (m') explains these lines by *οἱ πολλὰ κακὰ ἰδόντες* (and so Paley and others), but this misses the point of *ἐπανθίσαντες* and spoils the contrast with *vv.* 935—940. *Cho.* 150—151 *ὑμᾶς δὲ κωκυτοῖς ἐπανθίξω νόμος, παιᾶνα τοῦ θανόντος ἐξανδωμένας* (cited by Paley) may perhaps not be correct, but the connexion of *ἐπανθίξω* with the *παιᾶν* aptly illustrates the antithesis here.

935. *τελευτᾷ δ' αἰδε* but *now over the close of all the Erinyes have sung* etc. For *δε* marking the present close of a series (*now*) see on *v.* 618.—*τελευταῖαι δ'* Hermann.—*Ἀρα*: name of the *Ἐρινύες*,



- ἀραὶ τὸν ὄξυν νόμον, τετραμμένον  
 παντρόφῳ φυγᾷ γένους.  
 ἔστακε δ' Ἄτας τροπαῖον ἐν πύλαις,  
 ἐν αἷς ἐθείνοντο, καὶ δυοῖν κρατή-  
 σας ἔληξε δαίμων. 940
- AN. παισθεὶς ἔπαισας.  
 ΙΣ. σὺ δ' ἔθανες κατακτανών.  
 AN. δορὶ δ' ἔκανες.  
 ΙΣ. δορὶ δ' ἔθανες.  
 AN. μελεόπονος. 945  
 ΙΣ. μελεοπαθής.  
 AN. ἴτω γόος.  
 ΙΣ. ἴτω δάκρυα.  
 AN. ΙΣ. προσκείται κατακτῆς.  
 AN. ἡέ. στρ. 950  
 ΙΣ. ἡέ.  
 AN. μαίνεται γόοισι φρήν.  
 ΙΣ. ἐντὸς δὲ καρδία στένει.  
 AN. ἰὼ ἰὼ, πανδάκρυτε σύ.  
 ΙΣ. σὺ δ' αὖτε καὶ πανάθλιε. 955  
 AN. πρὸς φίλου ἔφθισο.  
 ΙΣ. καὶ φίλον ἔκτανες.  
 AN. διπλᾷ λέγειν.  
 ΙΣ. διπλᾷ δ' ὀράν.  
 AN. ἀχέων τοίων τάδ' ἐγγύθεν. 960  
 ΙΣ. πέλας δ' αἶδ' ἀδελφαὶ ἀδελφεῶν.

943. ἔκτανες.

956. φίλον γ'.

960. ἀ\*χέων.

see *Eum.* 420 Ἀραὶ δ' ἐν αἰκοῖς γῆς ὅσαι  
 κεκλήμεθα.—ἐπιγλάφαζαν in the proper  
 sense of ἀλαλάζω, the cry of victory.  
 νόμον *song, tune.*

937. παντρόφῳ *φυγᾷ utter defeat*,  
 the line, that is the male line, being now  
 annihilated: see on *v.* 885.

941—995. The *θρήνος* or dirge proper  
 (*v.* 848). With this should be compared  
 the closing scene of the *Persae*. In the  
 ms. most of the parts are marked only  
 with the 'paragraphus'; the exact distri-  
 bution is therefore uncertain, but it is  
 obviously in response between the sisters.

943. ἔκτανες Hermann.

949. προσκείται (θανόντι) κατακ-  
 τῆς *the slayer shall be buried likewise*,  
 lit. 'be laid by him whom he slew'. Prose  
 would require ὁ κατακτῆς, but in poetry,  
 especially in Aeschylus, the article is  
 omitted frequently.—πρόκεισαι Hermann,  
 in order that the words may be divisible  
 into equal metrical parts. But if, as  
 seems likely, in this verse both sisters  
 join (Schneider) there is no reason to  
 divide it into responses.

954. πανδάκρυτε: πάνδρυτε Ritschl.

960, 961: probably corrupt. The an-

AN. ΙΣ. ἰὼ Μοῖρα βαρυδότειρα μογερά,  
πότνιά τ' Οἰδίπου σκιά,  
μέλαιν' Ἐρινὺς ἢ μεγασθενὺς τις εἴ.

AN. ἦέ. ἀντ. 965

ΙΣ. ἦέ.

AN. δυσθέατα πῆματα

ΙΣ. ἐδείξατ' ἐκ φυγᾶς ἐμοί.

AN. οὐδ' ἔκεθ' ὥς κατέκτανεν.

ΙΣ. σωθεὶς δὲ πνεῦμ' ἀπώλεσεν. 970

AN. ἀπώλεσεν δῆτα,

ΙΣ. καὶ τόνδ' ἐνόσφισεν.

AN. τάλαν γένος.

ΙΣ. τάλαν πάθος.

AN. δύστονα κῆδε' ὁμῶνυμα. 975

ΙΣ. δίνυρα τριπάλτων πημάτων.

964. μέλαινα τ'. 974. τάλανα καὶ πάθον. 976. πημάτων.—δολοῦ λέγειν.—  
δολοῦ δ' ὄραν.

tistrophe (vv. 975, 976) affords no assistance. If *τοίων* is genuine, it stands for *διπλῶν*. See on v. 567.

964. μέλαιν' Ἐρινὺς Porson.

968 doubtful, as *ἐκ φυγᾶς* after *exile* can only refer to Polynices, and this does not suit the verb *ἐδείξατε*. The emphasis on *ἐμοί* also does not appear suitable. *τόνδ' ἐδέξατ' ἐκ φυγᾶς* Weil.

969, 970. A schol. refers v. 969 to Eteocles, who 'returned not when he had slain' (because, according to the description in Euripides, *Phoen.* 1407—1423, Eteocles struck down Polynices first, and supposing him dead was stabbed in the act of spoiling him), and v. 970, rather inconsistently, to Polynices, who 'in the moment of safety (*i.e.* of return to his native land) lost his life'. But the battle is not described by Aeschylus, and it is not necessary to assume any facts respecting it. Both lines apply sufficiently to either brother; each 'slew his rival, yet came not home', and each 'died in the moment of deliverance', that is, when his rival fell.—*ἄδ' ἔκεθ' Hermann*: *συθεὶς Stanley*: but neither change is a clear

improvement. In writing of this kind a certain obscurity is inevitable and unobjectionable.

971, 972. ὤλεσε δῆτ' ἀπο καὶ τὸν ἐνόσφισε G. C. W. Schneider. See vv. 956, 957. The exact reading is uncertain.

974. *τάλαν πάθος* Schuetz. Perhaps *τάλαν πάθον* (*i.e.* *ἐπαθον*), *cruel is their fate*.

975, 976. These lines are hopelessly obscure and cannot be restored, the strophe being also defective. Whether *ὁμῶνυμα* merely means that the dead are of the same race, or whether these lines, as others, have some reference to their names, it is impossible to say. The enigmatical *δίνυρα* may stand for *λνγρὰ* (Dindorf and others). Of *τριπάλτων* no explanation can now be given, and it is probably an error. A schol. gives the interpretation *σφόδρα πηδησάντων*, which must apparently have been originally written on a different word, derived not from *πᾶλλω* but from *ἄλλομαι*.—The interpolation after these verses was removed by Triclinius: see v. 984.

- AN. ΙΣ. *ὦ Μοῖρα βαρυδότειρα μογερά,*  
*πότνιά τ' Οἰδίπου σκιά,*  
*μέλαιν' Ἐρινὺς ἢ μεγασθενῆς τις εἴ.*
- AN. *σὺ τοίνυν οἶσθα διαπερῶν.* 980
- ΙΣ. *σὺ δ' οὐδὲν ὕστερος μαθῶν.*
- AN. *ἐπεὶ κατῆλθες ἐς πόλιν.*
- ΙΣ. *δορός γε τῷδ' ἀντηρέτας.*
- AN. *ὀλοὰ λέγειν.*
- ΙΣ. *ὀλοὰ δ' ὀρᾶν.* 985
- AN. *ὦ πόνος.*
- ΙΣ. *ὦ κακά.*
- AN. *δώμασι καὶ χθονί.*
- ΙΣ. *καὶ τὸ πρόσω γ' ἐμοί.*
- AN. *ὦ ὦ δυστάνων κακῶν ἀναξ.* 990
- ΙΣ. *ὦ πάντων πολυπονώτατοι.*
- AN. ΙΣ. *ὦ δαιμονῶντες ἐν αἵτᾳ.*
- AN. *ὦ σφε ποῦ θήσομεν χθονός;*
- ΙΣ. *ὦ ὅπου τιμιάτατον,*
- AN. ΙΣ. *ὦ ὦ, πῆμα πατρὶ πάρευνον.* 995
979. *μέλαινα τ'.* 987. *ὦ ὦ κακὰ δώμασιν | — καὶ χθονί· πρὸ πάντων δ' ἐμοί·*  
 993. *ὦ ποῦ σφε.*

980—995. These lines answer to each other in pairs like *vv.* 941—948.

980. *οἶσθα διαπερῶν* *thou knowest it* (the might of the Erinys) *by proof*, 'by having gone that way'; cf. the French colloquial expression 'avoir passé par là'.

989. *πρὸ πάντων δ' ἐμοί*, omitted by Haupt, was added as an explanation of *τὸ πρόσω γε*, and more.

990—991. To 990 the marginal note *ἐτεόκλεις ἀρχηγέτα* is added by m, whether as a conjectural reading of the text or merely as an explanation does not appear.

993. *ὦ σφε ποῦ* Wecklein.

994. *ὅπου τιμιάτατόν (ἔστι) in the place of most honour*, the royal sepulchre of their fathers.

995. *πῆμα πατρὶ πάρευνον* *wexing alas! the father by whom they are laid*; the curse of the house may disturb even the peace of the grave, where the brothers will meet their worst enemy. The whole

phrase is in apposition to *σφε*. For *ἐννῇ* of the grave see *Cho.* 317 *ἐνθα σ' ἔχουσιν εὐναί* (Orestes of Agamemnon), *Soph. El.* 436 *εἰς εὐνὴν πατρός* (Electra of Agamemnon) and see on *v.* 998.—This expression is in one respect extremely interesting. Taken in the only natural sense it implies, as Weil points out, that Oedipus died in his house and was buried there with his fathers. This was the orthodox Epic tradition; the story immortalized by Sophocles, that Oedipus was driven into exile and died mysteriously at Colonus in Attica, seems to have had no foundation beyond at most a local Attic legend. Speaking of a 'tomb of Oedipus' shown (according to a third account) on the Areopagus, Pausanias says *πολυπραγμονῶν δὲ εὕρισκον τὰ ὁσᾶ ἐκ Θηβῶν κομισθέντα· τὰ γὰρ ἐς τὸν θάνατον Σοφοκλεῖ πεποιημένα τὸν Οἰδίπου Ὀμηρος* (*i.e.* probably the Theban epics) *οἶκ*

## ΚΗΡΤΞ.

δοκοῦντα καὶ δόξαντ' ἀπαγγέλλειν με χρῆ  
 δήμου προβούλοις τῆσδε Καδμείας πόλεως.

εἶ μοι δόξαι πιστά, δὲ ἔφη Μηκιστέα τελευτήσαντος Οἰδίποδος ἐπιτάφιον ἐλθόντα ἐς Θήβας ἀγωνίσασθαι (1. 27. 7), and similarly with reference to the legend of Colonus, διάφορα μὲν καὶ ταῦτα τῇ Ὀμήρῳ ποιήσει λέγουσι δ' οὖν. The allusion here therefore follows authority; but it is a curious illustration of the freedom with which these quasi-historical legends were treated, that Aeschylus writing for an Athenian audience should ignore a story which in Sophocles grows into something of deep national importance.—Paley translates 'Alas for the calamity that followed my father's marriage!' or 'for the evil that was wedded to my father', and supposes a reference to Jocasta. This reference seems to me irrelevant and out of place, nor do I think that the words and context admit it.

996. *The Herald*. A difficulty has been found here as to the distribution of parts. Weil supposes that the part of the herald must have been taken by the actor who represented Ismene, and places here vv. 1045—1048 to give opportunity for the change. Bursian supposes something to be lost. But the assumption itself seems both unnecessary and unnatural. The statement that Aeschylus used only two actors is satisfied if there are not in any scene more than two persons actually speaking; and need not be stretched to mean that he never put on the stage together three persons who had at some time parts to speak. The present scene, with others, shows that this was not so. Ismene could not here leave the stage without spoiling the dramatic effect, but from the entrance of the herald she is a κωφὸν πρόσωπον, like Blä in the opening of the *Prometheus*.

δοκοῦντα καὶ δόξαντα. *It hath been approved and resolved, as I am to*

*make known etc.* The redundancy of expression belongs properly to a legal formula, and should not raise suspicion. The effect of it is happily aided by the stiff and peculiar rhythm of the verse (with only the quasi-caesura after the preposition ἀπ-αγγέλλειν), in this place artistic and quite justifiable. δοκοῦντα is the imperfect (not the present) participle; the formula of the decree itself would be ἐδόκει καὶ ἐδοξε. The difference between the two is that ἐδόκει (*it seemed good*) signifies the *opinion* of the authorities, ἐδοξε (*it was determined*) the *resolution* which they passed accordingly. Weil proposes δόξαντα καὶ δοκοῦντα 'the council have decreed and do decree', supposing δοκοῦντα to be of the present tense. But the meaning proposed would rather require δόξαντα καὶ δεδογμένα.

997. δήμου προβούλοις. The expression is curiously exact. By the extinction of the royal line the city is without a government. Aeschylus, following the democratic ideas of his own time and country, supposes that under these circumstances the sovereignty has reverted to the people (δῆμος), and is exercised for the necessary purposes of the moment by πρό-βουλοι, a *preliminary* or *provisional* council of leading persons (see v. 1017), acting *until* and subject to the future determination of the δῆμος itself. The point of the term is exactly illustrated by the πρόβουλοι of Athens in 411 B.C., who administered the government pending the arrangements for the constitution of the Four Hundred. Sophocles (*Ant.* 31) attributes the decree to Creon, brother of Jocasta, who as a near connexion of the house, assumes the vacant throne, a supposition undoubtedly more suitable to 'heroic' times, and dramatically, for such a play as the *Antigone*, almost

Ἔτεοκλέα μὲν τόνδ' ἐπ' εὐναία χθονὸς  
 θάπτειν ἔδοξε γῆς φίλαις κατασκαφαῖς·  
 στυγῶν γὰρ ἐχθροὺς θάνατον εἴλετ'† ἐν πόλει, 1000  
 ἱερῶν πατρώων ὅσιος ὦν μομφῆς ἄτερ,

998. εὐναία ἰερεῖ.

necessary. No κήρυξ, πρόβουλος, or προ-  
 στάτης δήμου could well have played the  
 'tyrannical' part of Sophocles' Creon.

998. ἐπ' εὐναία...κατασκαφαῖς to bury  
 him lovingly, digging in the ground his  
 earthy bed. ἐπ' εὐναία χθονός, literally  
 'with bed of earth': ἐπὶ of the condition  
 or way in which a thing is done: εὐναία  
 substantive, a synonym of εὐνή, for which  
 see Eur. Ion 172 εὐναίας καρφηρὰς θήσων  
 τέκνοισ. (It is also used by Apollonius  
 Rhodius, I. 935, rightly or wrongly, as  
 a synonym for εὐνή in the sense of  
 anchor, anchorage.)—κατασκαφαῖς: in ap-  
 position to εὐναία; the use of the word  
 in the sense of 'digging down into' is, as  
 a Schol. notices, peculiar: οὐκ τὰς κάτω  
 σκαφάς. Sophocles (Ant. 920) has it for  
 the thing so dug, the grave. The com-  
 moner sense is *ravage, destruction*, as in  
 v. 46.—Modern editors have generally  
 accepted the plausible conjecture of the  
 later MSS. ἐπ' εὐναία χθονός (for his  
 loyalty to the land), but I think wrongly;  
 for (1) εὐναία χθονός is strongly con-  
 firmed by ποῦ χθονός;.....πάρευνον in  
 vv. 993—995. The close of the dirge  
 is obviously designed to lead up effec-  
 tively to the interruption of the herald,  
 and this effect is much enhanced by  
 the parallelism of language; he speaks  
 as if he had actually heard the last words:  
 (2) the addition of the qualification ἐπ'  
 εὐναία χθονός to θάπτειν prepares the way  
 for the irony of v. 1012. Both princes are  
 in a manner to be 'buried', but Eteocles  
 in the grave as a friend, Polynices as  
 a foe by the fowls of the air. The expla-  
 nation of εὐναία as a substantive is as old  
 as the schol. (εὐφύμωσ τὸν τάφον εὐνήν  
 εἶπεν), but does not appear to have been  
 noticed in recent times.

1000. στυγῶν ἐχθροὺς hating his  
 country's foes, as a good citizen should,  
 and not allying himself with them, like  
 the false Polynices.—εἰργων δηλονότι is a  
 conjecture in the schol., whence Dobree,  
 Hartung and others στέγων, in the sense  
 (very doubtful, as Paley observes) of  
 'holding off the foe'. But στυγῶν is  
 thoroughly characteristic of ancient senti-  
 ment and should on no account be  
 changed.

1000—1003. θάνατον...καλόν. There  
 is plainly some error here, as we have  
 two verbs εἴλετο...τέθνηκεν without any  
 copula. To mend this δ' is inserted in  
 the MS. after πατρώων either by the first  
 hand or by m. But apart from this,  
 θάνατον εἴλετ' ἐν πόλει is a strange and  
 scarcely intelligible expression, whether  
 ἐν πόλει be taken with εἴλετο or with  
 θάνατον, and here probably the error lies.  
 If for εἴλετ' ἐν we had an adjective  
 agreeing with θάνατον and constructed with  
 πόλει, θάνατον would have a natural con-  
 struction as accusative cognate to τέθνη-  
 κεν. I would suggest θάνατον ἡλιθὸν  
 πόλει...τέθνηκεν, he has died at peace with  
 his country, literally 'a death bespeaking  
 the good-will of his country', from ἰλά-  
 σκομαι (ἰλάομαι ἱλαμαι) to seek favour.  
 πόλει will then be ethic dative. From  
 the use of ἰλάομαι as a term in religion  
 (see Lex. s.v.), this would accord ex-  
 cellently with the phrases of the following  
 line, in which patriotism is distinctly re-  
 garded as a religious obligation. For the  
 form of the word see on ἀπιστος  
 (πειθομαι) v. 827.—ἐν τέλει Jacobs, ἐν  
 πύλαις Francken, δλεθρον εἶργε τῇ πόλει  
 Weil.

1001. having discharged without fault  
 his duty to the religion of his fathers.

τέθηκεν οἷσπερ ὀρνέοις θνήσκειν καλόν.  
 οὕτω μὲν ἀμφὶ τοῦδ' ἐπέσταλται λέγειν·  
 τούτου δ' ἀδελφὸν τόνδε Πολυνείκους νεκρὸν  
 ἔξω βαλεῖν ἀθαρτον, ἀρπαγὴν κυσίν,  
 1005 ὡς οὐτ' ἀναστατήρα Καδμείων χθονός,  
 εἰ μὴ θεῶν τις ἐμποδὼν ἔστη δορί—  
 τῷ τοῦδ' ἄγος δὲ καὶ θανὼν κεκτῆσεται—

1002. οἷσπερ τοῖς νέοις.

1008. ἄγος.

λεῶν (or ἰρῶν?) depends as genitive of respect on οἷοις, literally 'clear in respect of them'. Cf. ἀφοσιῶσθαι *to discharge oneself (of an obligation)*.

1002. οἷσπερ ὀρνέοις θνήσκειν καλόν *with such augury as makes death fair*. With ὀρνέοις here contrast the grim irony of πετηνῶν ὑπ' οἰωνῶν in v. 1011. παρὰ τὸ εἰς οἰωνὸς ἀριστος ἀμύνεσθαι, Schol. 'This is imitated from εἰς οἰωνὸς ἀριστος ἀμύνεσθαι περὶ πάτρης, *The best omen of all omens is the patriot cause* Hom. *Il.* 12. 243'.—I have ventured to place this correction in the text, as the note cited appears to make it absolutely certain. In the MS. reading there is nothing even remotely suggesting the highly peculiar expression which the scholium cites as the model of it. The cause of error was probably the resemblance of letters in οἷσπερ ὀρνέοις, which became οἷσπερ νέοις, and was then patched up as we find it. We may perhaps hesitate however between τέθηκεν οἷσπερ and τέθηκε τοῖσπερ. The form ὀρνεον for ὀρνις, though rare in poetry, is ancient and Homeric (*Il.* 13. 64), which would be sufficient recommendation to Aeschylus. Apart from the schol. the MS. reading might be suspected if not condemned on its own demerits: patriotism is not honourable in *the young* only; and Aeschylus would have written νέοις not τοῖς νέοις.

1008. τῷ τοῦδ' *i. e.* τῷ τοῦ Ἐτεοκλέους δορί, instrumental dative,—*had not a higher power prevented his (Polynices') spear by means of the spear of Eteocles*. The

speaker turns from one corpse to the other, as in v. 1004 τοῦτου...τόνδε. If τῷ τοῦδ' be taken with δορί in the sense τῷ Πολυνείκους, it is superfluous and not Greek, especially as the rhythm (see vv. 498, 660, and notes on vv. 519, 566) throws an emphasis upon it. The sense and the situation also require that Eteocles, the instrument of heaven (see v. 1066), should not be ignored. In the next clause (v. 1009) ὅδε is added to mark the return from Eteocles to Polynices. But for this it would be out of place (whence Weil's proposal to read ἀτιμάσας ἔχει, omitting v. 1010). See also the following notes.

ἄγος δὲ...κεκτῆσεται *who* (Eteocles) *though he lost his life will have the worship (of his deed)*. The clause is in form a parenthesis. The object of it is to satisfy religious feeling by showing that the champion of gods will not go unrewarded. For ἄγος (σέβας) see the *Lex. s. v.* ἄγος. It means more than mere burial; the tomb of Eteocles would receive special honour; he would and did in fact become a ἥρως. The attempt to disprove the existence of ἄγος (aspirated) as distinct from ἄγος *pollution*, against both ancient tradition and etymological probability (cf. ἄγιος), seems wholly mistaken. It is almost indispensable here, if τοῦδ' be referred to Eteocles (on which see previous note); though it is just possible, reading ἄγος, to join the clause with ὡς οὐτ' ἀναστατήρα—and *though he (Polynices) died, he shall still bear his sin*. But then ὅδε would have been inserted here instead of in the fol-

θεῶν πατρῶων, οὓς ἀτιμάσας ὅδε  
στράτευμ' ἐπακτόν ἐμβαλὼν ἤρει πόλιν.  
οὕτω πετηνῶν τόνδ' ὑπ' οἰωνῶν δοκεῖ  
ταφέντ' ἀτίμως τοῦπιτίμιον λαβεῖν,  
καὶ μήθ' ὁμαρτεῖν τυμβοχόα χηρώματα  
μήτ' ὀξυμόλποισ προσσέβειν οἰμώγμασιν,  
εἶναι δ' ἄτιμον ἐκφορᾶς φίλων ὕπο.

1010

1015

1013. χηρώματα.

1015. ἀτιμον\* (δ'?) εἶναι δ'.

lowing verse. In MSS. *αἶγος* or *αἶγος* is written without regard to the sense.

1009. *θεῶν πατρῶων*. The main sentence is resumed, *θεῶν* being repeated from *v.* 1007, and the speaker turns again to Polynices (note *ὅδε*).—These clauses are commonly punctuated, with the reading *αἶγος*, thus: *εἰ μὴ θεῶν τις ἐμποδὼν ἔσται δορὶ τῷ τοῦδε* (sc. *Πολυνεϊκούς*). *αἶγος* δὲ καὶ θανῶν κεκτῆσεται *θεῶν πατρῶων*, οὓς ἀτιμάσας ὅδε κτλ. In that case *θεῶν πατρῶων* depends on *αἶγος* 'his sin against the gods of his fathers'; but, apart from the difficulties of *τοῦδε* and *ὅδε*, there is, to my ear, something very flat and unsatisfactory in *θεῶν πατρῶων* following so closely after *θεῶν*, unless it is justified, as in the above arrangement, by rhetorical purpose.

1011. *τόνδε*, implying an *ἐκεῖνον*, is inserted here to mark the contrast between the *οἰωνοί* of Polynices and the *δρνεα* of Eteocles (see on *v.* 1002), and between the two manners of 'burial' (see on *v.* 998). *οὕτω* qualifies *ταφέντα*, and is explained by *πετηνῶν ὑπ' οἰωνῶν*.

1013. *τυμβοχόα χηρώματα*.—*τυμβοχόα* *χορήματα* or *τυμβόχωστα* *χώματα*, Hartung: *τυμβοχόα* *μειλιγμάτα* Naber. These changes are too bold to accept, but the MS. cannot be right. It has been taken either for 'libations poured by hands upon the grave', or for 'mounded graves made by the hand'. For the first sense of *τυμβοχόος*, *pouring libations*, there is no authority: *τυμβοχοεῖν* is 'to pile a grave' not 'to pour a libation'. The only known meaning of *χειρώω* is 'to do

violence upon, to subdue, overpower'; that it should mean 'to make something with the hand' is perhaps conceivable, but there is no point here in the mention of the hands. And lastly, it is absurd to speak of a cairn (*τύμβος*) or of libations as 'accompanying' or 'following' the dead: *ὁμαρτεῖν* is used of *persons* or *trains of persons*. This last consideration indicates that the true word is *χηρώματα* *mourners*, *bereaved ones*, see *χῆρος*, *χηρώω*. The word *χῆρος* is specially applied to *women* (cf. *v.* 313), and points directly to the sisters and their friends; for the use of the form in *-μα* in a personal sense see Eur. *Hipp.* 11 *ἀγνοῦ Πιπθῆως παιδεύματα* (Hippolytus) etc. *τυμβοχόα* will then be part of the predicate—and *that no mourners go with him to make him a tomb*. And we thus have a subject, which is wanted, to the verb in *v.* 1014. The form *χηρώμα* is not extant, but may be inferred from *χηρώω* with as much certainty as a part of the verb itself.—The conjecture of *m'* in *v.* 313, *κεχειρωμένας*, shows the facility of the error.

1014. *προσσεβειν* *honour him further* than they have already done in the foregoing *θρήνος*, the proceedings of the sisters having been reported to the authorities.

1015. *εἶναι δ' ἀτιμον* *but let him go unattended by any friendly train*. A prose writer would have written *ἀφείναι*.—The MS. itself shows that *εἶναι* (without aspirate) is an error. As the unemphatic *εἶναι* should not stand first in the clause the order was changed to

τοιαῦτ' ἔδοξεν τῷδε Καδμείων τέλει.

- AN. ἐγὼ δὲ Καδμείων γε προστάταις λέγω  
 ἦν μὴ τις ἄλλος τόνδε συνθάπτειν θέλῃ,  
 ἐγὼ σφε θάψω κἀνὰ κίνδυνον βαλὼ  
 θάψας' ἀδελφὸν τὸν ἐμόν, οὐδ' αἰσχύνομαι 1020  
 ἔχουσ' ἄπιστον τήνδ' ἀναρχίαν πόλει  
 δεινὸν τὸ κοινὸν σπλάγχχνον, οὐ πεφύκαμεν,  
 μητρὸς ταλαίνης κἀπὸ δυστήνου πατρός.  
 τοιγὰρ θέλουσ' ἄκοντι κοινώνει κακῶν,  
 ψυχὴ, θανόντι ζῶσα συγγόνῳ φρενί. 1025

1024. κακῶν (?).

ἄτιμον δ' εἶναι, and this, to restore metre, into ἄτιμον εἶναι δ'. But the displacement of εἶναι emphasizes it as much as if it stood first. The change of subject also, from the mourners to the corpse, is inappropriate and confuses the sense.—ἐκφορᾶς depends upon ἄτιμον *deprived*. For the dependence of ὑπὸ φίλων on ἐκφορᾶς see v. 806.

1016. Καδμείων τέλει *the Cadmean government*. But why τῷδε? Perhaps it is intended (like τῆσδε Καδμείας πόλεως v. 997) to mark the local basis of authority —‘the government which here commands’. The parallel however scarcely bears examination. The land is locally present, the magistrates are not. I am strongly inclined to read τοιαῦτ' ἔδοξεν τῷδε *thus hath it been determined to deal with these twain*. The accusative τῷδε is easily explained by the verbs implied in τοιαῦτα, which stands in the case of Eteocles for θάπτειν (v. 999), in the case of Polynices for ἐξω βαλεῖν (v. 1005); or to put the same thing in a less correct way, the verb ποιεῖν may be supplied from the general tenor of the previous speech.—ἔδοξ' ἐν τῷδε Lachmann. This is unexceptionable; but perhaps the formal style of the proclamation requires that this summary should refer to the whole.

1017. προστάταις a vague word (in Athenian politics not an official title but

describing the chief man of a party, particularly of the δῆμος) and therefore convenient as a description of the δήμου πρόβουλα: see v. 997. In the action of Antigone as Aeschylus represents it there is mixed with affection a touch of royal pride and indignation thoroughly natural to the orphan princess of the fallen house. The addition of γε does not import a strong respect. *They* shall not stand in her way.

1019. ἀνὰ κίνδυνον βαλὼ *i.e. ἀναβαλὼ κίνδυνον I will risk the danger*. Paley cites Thuc. IV. 85 κίνδυνον τοσόνδε ἀνερρίψαμεν, *ib.* V. 103 τοῖς ἐς ἅπαν τὸ ὑπάρχον ἀναρριπτοῦσι, Aristoph. *frag.* 545 πᾶς ἀνερρίμμαι κύβος. The metaphor, as the last citation shows, is from a cast of dice.

1020. οὐδ' αἰσχύνομαι ἔχουσα *it shames me not to be guilty of...*: cf. ἔχειν αἰτρίαν. ἄπιστον...πόλει *this disobedient rebellion against my country*; πόλει depends on ἄπιστον, which takes the construction of πείθομαι. See *vv.* 827, 893.

1024. κακῶν *recc.*—θέλουσ' ἄκοντι: *take willingly thy suffering part with him who nothing wills*. ἄκων here is simply the negative of ἐκών. As between the living a service rendered ἄκοντι, *to the unwilling*, is a service that will not be rewarded; so a service rendered to the dead, who can will nothing, must be equally disinterested.



τούτῳ δὲ σάρκας οὐδὲ κοιλογάστορες  
 λύκοι σπάσονται· μὴ δοκησάτω τινί.  
 τάφον γὰρ αὐτῷ καὶ κατασκαφὰς ἐγώ,  
 γυνή περ οὔσα, τῷδε μηχανήσομαι

1027. σπάσονται corr. by erasure to πάσονται.

1026. *τούτῳ* *us* *τινός*: she points to the corpse by which she stands and to herself, and speaks, *κοινωνοῦσα κακῶν* (see the preceding verse), as if they had but one common interest. *τούτῳ* is the direct accusative to *σπάσονται*, and *σάρκας* the so-called 'accusative of the part affected'.—The later MSS. destroy this line by substituting *τούτου*. If a possessive were required at all we should read *τούτῳ*. But the whole point lies in the use of the dual.—*οὐδὲ κοιλογάστορες λύκοι* *not even ravening wolves*, or as we should say, *implied sense* is 'much less, as ye threaten, the fowls of the air'. Cf. *v. 602* *μηδὲ προσβαλεῖν πύλαις* *not so much as attack the gate at all*. Without *οὐδὲ* the expression *κοιλογάστορες λύκοι* would be exaggerated and out of place.—The supposition that something is lost here depends on the mis-translation of *οὐδὲ* by *neither*.—*σπάσονται*. The middle voice 'tear for themselves' signifies that they tear to devour. The original reading of the MS., retained by Hermann, seems in every way preferable to the correction *πάσονται*, a very weak word for this place.

1027. *τινί*. In language of a threatening kind, the person *at* whom it is spoken is often described with studious vagueness as *τις*. See on *v. 389* and cf. the German use of the third person for the second in similar circumstances. Here and in *v. 1031* *τις* is the council and their representative, the herald.—*Let not our decree-makers so presume!*

1028. *τάφον γάρ*. The use of *γάρ* here is elliptical (*I speak of protecting the body from violation*); *for as for burial, that etc.* That this is the meaning (and not 'for I will bury him') is shown

by the order of the words and also by the sense: Antigone could not of course herself bury the body so as to protect it from birds and beasts, and does not propose to do so. She would protect it by watching; and as for 'burial' in the religious sense of the term, that, as she scornfully says, is an easy matter.—*αὐτῷ* *...τῷδε* *with only this, just with this*, *i.e.* with her woman's dress, to the *κόλπος* (*sinus* or *fold*) of which she points as she speaks. See on *v. 850*. She explains her meaning in *v. 1030*. The expression is intentionally contemptuous. To what purpose is it to forbid burial, when the handful of earth necessary for the rite can be carried in a maiden's robe? The requirement of religion was satisfied by the mere sprinkling of dust three times upon the corpse. Cf. *Soph. Ant. 255* *ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἡφάνιστο, τυμβήρης μὲν οὐ, λεπτὴ δ', ἄγος φεύγοντος ὡς ἐπὶ κόνις*, and *ib. 429* *ἐμφέρει κόνιν... χοαῖσι τρισπόνθοισι τὸν νέκυν στέφει* (of the 'burial' of Polynices by Antigone), *Hor. Od. 1. 28. 36* *iniecto ter pulvere*. The effect is heightened by the ironical use of *κατασκαφὰς*, the word of the herald himself (*v. 999*), although not appropriate to the simple symbolic rite intended by Antigone. There is a similar irony in *τάφον...φέρουσα* 'carrying a grave', *i.e.* carrying the sufficient means of burial.—*αὐτῇ* (for *αὐτῷ*) Pierson, Hermann, Dindorf and others, taking *τῷδε* as *for him*, in which case *αὐτῷ* would be superfluous. Others, as Paley, join *τῷδε* rightly with *κόλπω* but take *αὐτῷ* to mean *Πολυνείκει*; but even so *αὐτῷ* is unnecessary and not used after the manner of Aeschylus.

κόλπῳ φέρουσα βυσσίνου πεπλώματος,  
καύτῃ καλύψω. μηδέ τῷ δόξῃ πάλιν  
θάρσει παρέσται μηχανὴ δραστήριος.

1030

KH. αὐδῶ πόλιν σε μὴ βιάζεσθαι τάδε.

AN. αὐδῶ σε μὴ περισσὰ κηρύσσειν ἐμοί.

KH. τραχύς γε μέντοι δῆμος ἐκφυγὼν κακά.

1035

AN. τράχυν', ἄθαπτος δ' οὗτος οὐ γενήσεται.

KH. ἀλλ' ὃν πόλις στυγεῖ, σὺ τιμήσεις τάφῳ;

AN. ἤδη τὰ τοῦδ' οὐ διατετίμηται θεοῖς.

1032. θάρσει. παρέσται.

1030. **βυσσίνου.** The delicacy of the fabric is an additional touch of sarcasm, importing the small weight that it would bear. It should be noted, that Antigone does not intend *concealment*, as is shown by the sequel, and indeed by this plain declaration. The sole point of her language is to mark the futility of prohibiting what is so easily done.—From the importance of the *robe* (σύρμα) of Antigone in this action, the place at Thebes shown as the scene of the burial probably derived the name Σύρμα Ἀντιγόνης (Paus. IX. 25. 2). Pausanias refers it to the dragging (σύρειν) of the body: but σύρειν is not the right word.

1031. **καλύψω will cover him.**—μηδέ τῷ δόξῃ πάλιν. *Let not our masters decree to the contrary, for courage will find an effective means*, if this should fail. She pretends to expect a decree against the method she proposes. Note the distinction between μὴ δοκησάτω in v. 1027 and μὴ δόξῃ here.

1032. **θάρσει παρέσται.** It is not easy to choose between this punctuation (Porson) where θάρσει is the dative of θάρσος and that of the MS., where θάρσει is the imperative of θαρσέω, *never fear* or *be assured*. The irony of this is quite in keeping with the context, but perhaps the other is better. The same words θάρσει, παρέσται, occur in Soph. O. C. 726, where θάρσει is the imperative. The resemblance may be accidental, or the

effect of unconscious reminiscence, but it slightly strengthens the probability of the MS. punctuation.

1035. *Stern is a people's temper in the hour when a peril is past.* As has often been pointed out, the whole contemporary history of the Athenian democracy in its rapid rise after the Persian wars is a comment upon this verse.

1036. *It may be yet more stern, and still he that lies here shall not go unburied.* Literally, 'exasperate their exasperation (τράχυνε τὸν τραχύν), and etc.'

1037. **ἀλλὰ.** Here, as often in alternative verses, one speech is continued by the next. Antigone might have said ἄθαπτος οὗτος οὐ γενήσεται, ἀλλ' ἐγὼ τιμήσω τάφῳ. The reply of the herald is this second clause, with the pronoun changed, and with an interrogative tone. Cf. Eur. Med. 326 KP. οὐ γὰρ ἂν πείσταις ποτέ. MH. ἀλλ' ἐξελᾶς με κούδεν αἰδέσει λιτὰς;—The rhythm of this verse is noticeable: it has in effect no caesura, and must be divided in the middle. This, with the divisions after the first two feet, gives to it an equally distributed emphasis suitable to a grave warning. Sophocles uses a like device for a like purpose in the famous line of the *Philoctetes* (589) EM. *ὅρα τί ποιεῖς, παῖ.* NE. σκοπῶ καὶ γὰρ πάλοι. So also nearly in v. 1044.—**τιμήσεις reward.**

1038. *Already he hath his reward without distinction—from the gods, or He*

KH. οὐ, πρὶν γε χάραν τήνδε κινδύνῳ βαλεῖν.

AN. παθὼν κακῶς κακοῖσιν ἀντημείβετο.

1040

KH. ἀλλ' εἰς ἅπαντας ἀνθ' ἑνὸς τόδ' ἔργον ἦν.

AN. ἔρις περαίνει μῦθον ὑστάτη θεῶν.

ἐγὼ δὲ θάψω τόνδε· μὴ μακρηγόρει.

KH. ἀλλ' αὐτόβουλος ἴσθ', ἀπεννέπω δ' ἐγώ.

*is not distinguished now—in the reward of the gods.*—This disputed verse is explained, I think, correctly though not very lucidly by a scholium,—τὰ περ τῆς τιμῆς τούτου ὑπὸ θεῶν κέκερται. 'The question of Polynices' τιμή has been decided by heaven'. The distinction made by the state's decree between the brothers proceeds on the religious ground that one is the friend, the other the enemy of the country's gods (see the speech of the herald *passim*, and note especially ἀτιμάσας v. 1009, ἄτιμος v. 1015). It might be objected—and the herald is careful to meet this objection by the way (v. 1008)—that by their equal fate this distinction is divinely refuted. Antigone revives the objection, observing bitterly that, if she rewards the foe and the friend alike, she is but following the *divine precedent* (ἡδὴ...θεοῖς). She speaks rather as a daughter of the house of Labdacus than as a citizen, and much in the spirit of Eteocles himself (see v. 689). Wieseler (and Weil), taking the same view, proposes to read οὐ δίχα τετιμῆται, but this is not necessary. The preposition δια- means *distinctively*, as in διαφέρειν. There is a certain irony in the use of τιμή, which is strictly neutral (*payment*), and includes, like the English *reward*, both *reward* in the limited sense and punishment.—Paley omits οὐ, taking τὰ τοῦδε διατετιμῆται for 'his honour is at an end', and supposing the sense to be 'Since the gods have ceased to honour him, I must honour him'. This gives an equally possible sense of διατιμᾶν, but does not satisfy the emphatic ἡδὴ, besides supposing a not very probable corruption. He assumes, and so

have others, that the Schol. read the text without οὐ, but this is by no means clear. There are several other conjectures (see Wecklein) but none of them are satisfactory, nor does any change appear necessary.

1039. *His case was equal, until he had imperilled this town.* Literally, *He was not distinguished* (οὐ διετετιμῆτο) *before etc.* Polynices and Eteocles were both under the curse of heaven pronounced upon their family, and both have died accordingly. But the treason of Polynices *against the city* distinguishes his case and still awaits punishment.

1040. *He was seeking vengeance for the wrong he had suffered:* his banishment.

1041. ἀνθ' ἑνὸς *for the offence of one*, Eteocles.

1042. *Of all the gods Contention hath ever the last word:* literally 'Contention is the last of the gods to finish her say'. Apparently a proverb meaning 'One may go on disputing for ever', and perhaps founded on some allegorical story like that cited in v. 210.—Blomfield omits this verse, to preserve the alternation. Wecklein observes truly that it would be better to omit the next. But there is no reason for omitting either. The altercation is cut short, and Antigone turns to resume the interrupted obsequies.

1044. ἀλλ' αὐτόβουλος ἴσθι i.e. θάπτε ἀλλ' αὐτόβουλος ἴσθι (see on v. 1035). *On thine own peril then, and against my prohibition!* Literally 'Do it, but be thine own counsellor, while I forbid thee'. Here the herald, having discharged himself of responsibility, leaves the stage.

- ΧΟ. φεῦ φεῦ. 1045  
 ὦ μεγάλαυχοι καὶ φθερσιγενεῖς  
 Κῆρες Ἑρινύες, αἴτ' Οἰδιπόδα  
 γένος ὠλέσατε πρύμνοθεν οὕτως,  
 τί πάθω; τί δὲ δρῶ; τί δὲ μῆσωμαι;  
 πῶς τολμήσω μήτε σὲ κλαίειν 1050  
 μήτε προπέμπειν ἐπὶ τύμβῳ;  
 ἀλλὰ φοβοῦμαι κάποτρέπομαι  
 δεῖμα πολιτῶν.  
 σύ γε μὴν πολλῶν πευθητήρων  
 τεύξῃ· κείνος δ' ὁ τάλας ἄγοος 1055  
 μονόκλαυτον ἔχων θρήνον ἀδελφῆς  
 εἰσιν. τίς ἂν οὖν τὰ πίθοιτο;  
 ΗΜ. δράτῳ τι πόλις καὶ μὴ δράτῳ  
 τοὺς κλαίοντας Πολυνείκῃ  
 ἡμεῖς γὰρ ἴμεν καὶ συνθάψομεν 1060  
 αἶδε προπομποί. καὶ γὰρ γενεᾷ

1049. δ' ἐρῶ. 1056. θρήνος. 1057. πείθοιτο. 1058. δράτῳ πόλις.

1045—1057. This is perhaps divided between various singers. The MS. has the mark of the 'semi-chorus' at vv. 1045, 1064, and 'paragraphi' at vv. 1049, 1054, 1058.

1045. φεῦ expresses indignant complaint at the vengeance of the fiends, whom even complete triumph has not contented.

1046. μεγάλαυχοι καὶ φθερσιγενεῖς. These epithets are to be closely joined—who boast the triumph of a family destroyed.

1048. πρύμνοθεν. πρέμνοθεν Is. Voss. See on v. 71.

1049. δὲ δρῶ. Later copies. The ἐρῶ of the MS. is scarcely good Greek, and note the antithesis πάθω—δρῶ.

1054. γε μὴν and yet. They are divided between fear and sympathy, passing backwards and forwards as each feeling prevails.—σὺ...τεύξῃ. This clause would in English be put in a subordinate form.—And yet, while thou shalt have many mourners, he alas! must go etc.

1057. Who can render such an obedience as that? τὰ is the demonstrative and emphatic.

1058. δράτῳ τι a euphemism for 'do some hurt'. Let the city punish or not punish etc. Cf. Eur. Med. 1304 μή μοι (παῖδάς) τι δρῶσιν οἱ προσήκοντες γένει. The word τι, accidentally omitted from its resemblance in uncials to the following II, was restored by a critic cited by Elmsley on Eur. Med. l. c.

1061. γενεᾷ in respect of blood, inasmuch as the dead is Καθμογενής, and this bond of nature cannot be dissolved by the shifting determinations of political law. This antithesis, with the substitution of a τύραννος for the πόλις, is expanded in the Antigone of Sophocles; see An. 453 οὐδὲ σθένειν τοσοῦτον φόμην τὰ σὰ κηρύγμαθ' ὥστ' ἀγραπτα κάσφαλῇ θεῶν νόμιμα δύνασθαι θνητὸν ὄνθ' ὑπερδραμεῖν κτλ.—κοινὸν τόδ' ἄχος. The words admit two meanings, (1) κοινὸν καὶ τῷ Πολυνείκει and (2) κοινὸν καὶ ἡμῶν. But the context de-

κοινὸν τόδ' ἄχος, καὶ πόλις ἄλλως  
ἄλλοτ' ἐπαινεῖ τὰ δίκαια.

HM. ἡμεῖς δ' ἅμα τῷδ', ὥσπερ τε πόλις  
καὶ τὸ δίκαιον ξυνεπαινεῖ.

1065

μετὰ γὰρ μάκαρας καὶ Διὸς ἰσχὺν  
ὅδε Καδμείων ἤρυνε πόλιν

1067

μηδ' ἄλλοδαπῶ κύματι φωτῶν

1069

κατακλυσθῆναι τὰ μάλιστα.

1070

1067—69. πόλιν | μὴ ἀνατραπῆναι | μηδ'.

cides for the first; *In respect of blood our mourning belongs to both*, not 'we also are bound to mourn'. Their argument is that Polynices must have mourners, as well as Eteocles, not that they are themselves bound to take some part in the ceremony.—A comparison with the antistrophe (*v.* 1068) shows that there is either a defect here or an interpolation there of two anapaestic feet. Ritschl, Hermann and others suppose a defect here, but it would be difficult to insert anything without injuring the sense (*τῇ Καδμογενεῖ* Ritschl, *τῇ Καδμείῳ* Hermann) nor is the supposed loss accounted for. See on *v.* 1069.

1066. μετὰ μάκαρας ... ὅδε ... τὰ μάλιστα: *after the blessed gods...he more than any other etc.*

1069. μηδ' ἄλλοδαπῶ κύματι φωτῶν κατακλυσθῆναι *so that not even a sea of strange*

*folk could overwhelm her.* The Argive host was in itself ἄλλοδαπός, composed of strangers to one another, not merely alien to the Cadmeans, so that the phrase notes the remarkable fortune of the city in having been saved from a great confederacy.—The words μὴ ἀνατραπῆναι are an interpolation, due to the same error which has led to the supposition that something is lost at *v.* 1026—the assumption that μηδὲ (or οὐδέ) means *nor* and requires a negative clause preceding. Here the clause has actually been supplied. But it is detected by the metre (see on *v.* 1061) and also by the sense, for the irrelevant ἀνατραπῆναι spoils the metaphor of the ship and the storm, which is pursued throughout the play from the very commencement (see on *v.* 780) and here finally resumed in the conclusion.

## APPENDIX I.

### *On the Rhythmical Correspondence of Strophe and Antistrophe.*

I HAVE stated in the *Introduction* the principle which has been followed in the choric parts of the foregoing text. As a rule almost without exception, I have admitted no alteration of the ms., however slight, which depends for its justification on metrical considerations only. I have adopted this plan, not on the assumption that a text so formed cannot possibly be further improved, but because the formation of such a text seems to be necessary as a step towards the solution of an important question. That question is—What does the ms. really indicate as to the kind of correspondence between *strophe* and *antistrophe* observed by Aeschylus; and, in particular, what exceptions must be made to the rule of exact correspondence by syllables and quantities? In the present state of the average Aeschylean text, it is difficult, not to say impossible, to study this question fairly. Although no one would assert that the rule is perfectly absolute, it has been freely used as a general presumption; and a long succession of editors have brought the text into conformity with it, wherever this could be easily done: in this way the case has been prejudiced in those instances, still very numerous, where it cannot be easily done, and they have either been emended by violence or treated as irremediably wrong. Upon this presumption, thus established, more than upon anything else, rests the belief that the choric parts of Aeschylus are extremely corrupt. And upon this point it is desirable to be perfectly clear. If, in the original text of this play, the *strophe* and *antistrophe* corresponded, with few and simple exceptions, by syllables, no reliance whatever can be placed upon our ms. in most of the lyric portions; and we may say at once that they have been destroyed. Whole *strophæ* occur, in which not more than half the lines, on this hypothesis, have been copied rightly; and if careless or wilful alteration has gone such lengths as this, the task of explanation or restoration may as well be given up. I will say at once

that in my judgment there is no ground for this conclusion. I believe that for the most part the lyric portions of the text have been copied as accurately as the rest, that is to say, with errors not numerous and almost always minute; and as a corollary to this, I believe that the correspondence of *strophe* and *antistrophe* is not always an exact correspondence of syllables and quantities, but frequently varies from it, of course within such limits as to preserve the correspondence of rhythm. I propose here to notice all the variations which occur in our play, but first, as a good specimen case, we will take out of their order the last *strophe* and *antistrophe* of the opening Chorus.

- |     |  |      |
|-----|--|------|
| 151 | ἰὼ παναρκεῖς θεοί,<br>ἰὼ τέλειοι τέλειαί τε γᾶς<br>τᾶσδ' ἔγε πυργοφύλακες,<br>πόλιν δορίπονον μὴ προδῶθ'                             | στρ. |
| 155 | ἑτεροφώνῳ στρατῷ.<br>κλύετε παρθένων κλύετε πανδίκως<br>χειροτόνους λιτάς.<br>ἰὼ φίλοι δαίμονες<br>λυτήριοι τ', ἀμφιβάντες πόλιν     | ἀντ. |
| 160 | δείξαθ' ὥς φιλοπόλεις,<br>μέλεσθε δ' ἱερῶν δημίων,<br>μελόμενοι δ' ἀρήξατε·<br>φιλοθύτων δέ τοι πόλεως ὀργίων<br>μνήστορες ἔστε μοι. |      |

This is the MS. text, with the exception of *λυτήριοι τ'* (Seidler) for *λυτήριοι* in 159. It exhibits no difficulty of meaning; for the objections which have been taken to *ἑτεροφώνῳ* in 155 would never have been entertained but for the supposed evidence of the metre. Of the seven pairs of lines, four have exact correspondence and three have not. As might be expected *a priori*, assuming correspondence of rhythm, the restoration of syllabic correspondence is not difficult *up to a certain point*. In 153 we omit *γε* with the later copies (to the injury of the sense), in 160 we substitute *φιλοπόλεις* for *φιλοπόλεις*, and in 163 *πόλεος* for *πόλεως*. If these changes were completely successful, they might appear plausible: but the only result of them is to leave us with an irreducible case—155 *ἑτεροφώνῳ στρατῷ* answering to 162 *μελόμενοι δ' ἀρήξατε*, which accordingly, after many unsuccessful attempts (see Wecklein's *Appendix*), is left standing; and we remain uncertain whether, with so much to correct and something which we cannot correct, we have got anything like Aeschylus after all. But the truth is, that the

metrical variation between 155 and 162 is of a kind which occurs again and again, and these very verses contain another case of it. The verse *ἐτερο-φών-ψ στρα-τῶ* is a verse of four feet and four rhythmical beats, and so is the verse *μελόμεν-οι δ' ἄρ-ήξατ-ε*. For the purpose of rhythm and in verse intended for music, a long syllable, held for the necessary time, is a perfectly good equivalent for a trochee<sup>1</sup>. So also neither 153 *τᾶσδὲ γε | πυργ-οφύλακ-ες*, nor 160 *δείξαθ' | ὥς φιλ-οπόλι-ες*, requires any alteration: in the second foot of 153 we have a variety of the same kind as that just noticed; of the correspondence between the first feet (in quantities, — ∪ ∪ = — ∪) we shall find other examples hereafter. To the ear it needs no justification, and appears irregular only because the notation of "long" and "short" syllables is inadequate, as many writers on metre have perceived, to the representation of metres intended for music. Between *πόλεως* and *πόλεος* in 163 the choice is metrically and in every other way indifferent. On the one hand these two forms are certainly sometimes confused in the MS. and may be so here; on the other hand such correspondences as *κλύετε πανδίκως* to *πόλεως ὀργίων* (scanning *πόλεως* as ∪ —) are quite common in verses of this rhythm (*dochmiac*, see e.g. 551, 614). Even the insertion of τ' in 159 is at most a probable change: we cannot know that there was not a musical division after *λυτήριοι* which protected the hiatus; and the conjunction is not necessary to the sense. Now although taken singly each of these variations may be insignificant enough, they become very important collectively in their bearing upon such a reading as *ἐτεροφώνψ στρατῶ*. In Wecklein's *Appendix* are mentioned no less than *sixteen* corrections, all unsatisfactory, proposed simply with the object of bringing vv. 155 and 162 into conformity of syllables and quantities. And further, in this single passage of 14 lines we have 5 lines requiring correction upon metrical theory, and not

<sup>1</sup> This type of rhythm (*syncope*) is of course familiar enough in its application to the scansion of single verses; v. 154 e.g. has the rhythm *πό-λιν | δορ-προ-| von | μη προ-δῶθ'*, with two 'syncopated' feet (see the excellent section on versification in Hadley's *Greek Grammar*). It only remains to apply the same principle to *strophic* correspondence. In this case the corresponding verse 161 has similar feet. But it is implied by the very nature of 'syncope' that such correspondence is not necessary; and that

we should expect to find, as we do find, cases in which a 'syncopated' foot answers to one not 'syncopated'. So also in the case of the 'trochaic dactyl'. In short, lyric verses can only be scanned as verses on principles which involve the deduction, that strophic correspondence need not be syllabic correspondence. The equivalence of — ∪, — —, ∪ ∪ ∪, and — ∪ ∪ is assumed by the rules of the common iambic senarius. 'Syncope' applies to lyric metres only.



one, or at most one, which is open to doubt on any other ground. Nor are these figures exceptional. To my own mind the figures themselves are almost sufficient evidence that the metrical theory in question cannot be right. It is surely improbable that any series of copyists should be so methodically careless as to make error after error injurious to the metre only, and leaving not merely words but sense. If it be argued that the copyists knew the forms of the words and understood the sense, but did not know and did not preserve the lyric metres, it must be answered that this is not so. They make errors enough to show that they did not know the forms of the words accurately, and that they often did not understand the sense. How then did they contrive so frequently to spoil the metre without spoiling anything else?

We will now take the lyric parts of the play in their regular order, beginning with the entrance-song or

*Parodos. Vv. 78—164.*

The metrical arrangement and distribution of parts in this piece have been perhaps more disputed than any other problem of the same kind in Aeschylus. Upwards of twenty different hypotheses are enumerated by Wecklein in his *Appendix*. From this great variety of opinion it is reasonable to conclude that beyond a narrow limit the evidence fails altogether; and this is so decidedly my own opinion that I shall confine my remarks here almost entirely to the question which I think answerable—Is there any reason to suppose that the text, as we have it, has sustained extensive injury? It is a curious fact, and in itself an indication in favour of the *ms.*, that in the chorus, as we find it, the marks of regular structure increase from the beginning to the end. This may be said without prejudice to any point in dispute. *Vv. 78—105* cannot be arranged in *strophæ* without very considerable change; on the other hand from *134* to the end the structure is clearly strophic and at least approximately regular. Between these limits lies a passage, *106—133*, of which the character is doubtful. Comparing *106—108* with *120—122*, *110* with *124*, *112* with *126*, *113* with *127*, *116—119* with *130—133*, it is difficult not to suppose, with the majority of critics, that we have here a pair of *strophæ*<sup>1</sup>. Yet it is clear on the other hand that, if *strophæ*, they are *either* very irregular *or* very corrupt. To determine between these alternatives, we ought, it would

<sup>1</sup> According to some *vv. 106—133* are, without strophic structure. See Wecklein's *Appendix*.  
like the parts preceding, mere recitative

seem, to look at the sense. If the irregularity is due to corruption, it will betray itself in the meaning as well as in the metre. This test is decisive against the hypothesis of corruption. Some of the most irregular verses (e.g. 109 and 123) are precisely the most admirable and the least open to suspicion of error. From these facts the reader must draw his own conclusion. For my own part I see no difficulty in accepting the whole chorus as it stands<sup>1</sup>; *vv.* 106—133 I take to be what they appear to be, a passage of transition between the confusion of the first part, and the regularity of the conclusion. They are *strophæ*, in which more liberty than usual has been taken in adapting the words to the music; and *perhaps*, though this is a point beyond our means of knowledge, certain parts of them were not sung to strophic music, but recited as interruptions, the movements or music serving to explain to the ear the relations of the parts. The transition of structure from broken recitative to the regularity of *strophæ* may be presumed to have corresponded with a change in the disposition of the Chorus from the confusion of their entrance to the posture of supplication, in which they are found upon the re-entrance of Eteocles. With this vague and general conception we must rest content. For the attempts which have been made to attain greater precision I must refer the reader to Wecklein's *Appendix*. Almost any of them may appear plausible, if we make suitable assumptions as to corruptions of the text, and the objection to all of them is, that there is no sound reason for believing it to be corrupt.

To come to details:—the passage in recitative (78—105) is written mainly in the *dochmiac* rhythm (of which the base is the rhythm  $\cup \text{—} \cup \text{—} \cup \text{—}$  or equivalents for it, such as  $\text{—} \cup \cup \text{—} \cup \text{—}$ ,  $\cup \cup \cup \text{—} \cup \text{—}$ ,  $\cup \cup \cup \cup \cup \cup \text{—}$ , etc.). It was probably distributed among various parts or single voices of the chorus, but in what manner or among how many singers it is not possible to say.

In the following section (106—133), under the uncertainty as to how much is strophic, correspondences must be noted with great caution; but the following points are of interest:—

106  $\theta\epsilon\omicron\iota \pi\omicron\lambda\iota\acute{\alpha}\omicron\chi\omicron\iota = 120 \sigma\acute{\upsilon} \tau' \tilde{\omega} \Delta\iota\omicron\gamma\epsilon\nu\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma$ . These are both dochmiac feet,  $\theta\epsilon\omicron\iota$  being a monosyllable. Similarly  $\iota\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\iota\omicron\nu \lambda\acute{o}\chi\omicron\nu$ ,  $\kappa\alpha\chi\lambda\acute{\alpha}\zeta\epsilon\iota \pi\nu\omicron\alpha\iota\varsigma$ ,  $\Pi\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\alpha\varsigma \delta' \theta' \iota\pi\pi\iota\omicron\varsigma$ ,  $\epsilon\pi\acute{\iota}\lambda\upsilon\sigma\iota\nu \phi\omicron\nu\omega\acute{\nu}$ ,  $\text{Ἄρεος ὀρόμενον}$ , are all dochmiac feet and equivalents for each other. All these forms will

<sup>1</sup> The proof of interpolation in *v.* 133 rests on grounds independent of metre and does not suggest any general doubts. There are of course a certain number of

mis-accentuations and what may be called normal mis-spellings, such as  $\lambda\acute{\upsilon}\kappa\iota\omicron\varsigma$  for  $\lambda\acute{\upsilon}\kappa\epsilon\iota\omicron\varsigma$ . But these do not affect the question.

be found frequently and without distinction in strophic passages of this rhythm<sup>1</sup>.

118 *δορυσσοῖς σαγαῖς* = 132 *στρατῷ δαίψ*. This is a particularly interesting and noticeable form. In the normal *dochmius*  $\cup \text{---} \cup \text{---} \cup \text{---}$ , the essential part is the three beats; it is obviously possible, without changing the character of the rhythm, to introduce an occasional foot in which the second beat, as well as the first and third, has a preliminary 'short', thus,  $\cup \text{---} \cup \text{---} \cup \text{---}$ . The principle of the variation is exactly the same as that in 155 = 162. It is easy in this instance to restore syllabic conformity by writing *δορυσσοῖς*, but in 219 *διὰ θεῶν πόλιν* = 225 *ποταίνιον κλύουσ-* this cannot be done without violent alteration, and in 206 *μηδ' ἐπίδοιμι τάνδ'* = 213 *-σι τὰν ἀμύχανον* it cannot be done without injury to the sense. Other examples will be found as we proceed.

118 *πύλαις ἐβδόμαις* = 132 *στόνων ἀντάς*. This is another variation upon the same principle,  $\cup \text{---} \cup \text{---} \cup \text{---}$  for  $\cup \text{---} \cup \text{---} \cup \text{---}$ . So *probably* *φόνον χαλινοί* in 116 and *πελαζόμεσθα* in 130 were sung as dochmiac feet ( $\cup \text{---} \cup \text{---} \cup \text{---}$ ). In the same lines *κινύρονται* ( $\cup \text{---} \cup \text{---} \cup \text{---}$ ) and *ἀπύουσαι* ( $\text{---} \cup \text{---} \cup \text{---}$ ) may also have equal rhythms. Seidler reads *ἀντοῦσαι* for syllabic conformity, but in a passage exhibiting so much irregularity, it is arbitrary to introduce conformity in a particular place by a change which has no warrant from the sense.

Of the rhythm of 109 = 123, 111 = 125 and 114—115 = 128—129 nothing can be said but that the words, without musical or rhythmical notation, give no evidence as to how they were sung. The words neither prove nor disprove that the music had equal rhythms. Syllabic conformity can be restored, even approximately, only by re-writing the lines<sup>2</sup>. In 106 the erasure throws doubt on the reading. If it is correct, it appears to be a case in which the pause or 'rest' in the rhythm, which usually occurs between two dochmiac feet, is filled up. The rhythm must be  $\text{---} \cup \text{---} \cup \text{---} | \text{---} \cup \text{---} | \text{---} \cup \text{---} \cup \text{---} \cup \text{---} | \text{---} | \text{---}$  answering to  $\cup \text{---} | \cup \text{---} \cup \text{---} | \text{---} || \cup \text{---} \cup \text{---} \cup \text{---} | \text{---} \cup \text{---} | \text{---}$ .

The following *strophæ* (134—150) have little irregularity:—

140 *δοριτίνακτος αἰθῆρ δ'* Hermann. But cf. 685 = 691, 686 = 692, etc., and see below on 208 = 215.

147—149. *παῖ Διός, ὅθεν* von den Bergh, *ἐν μάχαις, σὺ τε* Hermann,

<sup>1</sup> See Hadley's *Greek Grammar* above cited, and the editor's notes on Eur. *Med.* 1251 foll.

<sup>2</sup> e.g. 111 *ἀλλ' ὦ Ζεῦ πάντως πάτερ παντελής*, 125 *σύ τ' Ἄρης φεύ φεύ κηδεῖαν*

*πόλιν* (suggested by Wecklein). The expression *ἐπώνυμον Κάδμου πόλιν* is surely above suspicion. Accident would not produce a phrase of recondite meaning yet perfectly correct.

\*Ογκα προπύργιος Newman (see further Wecklein's *Appendix*). The sense betrays no error. The last syllable of φιλα in 138 is 'common' for lyric verse, and here sung as short, as it might be anywhere before a vowel; the last syllable of Διόθεν in 147 is long. For the correspondence of ∪∪ to —, not uncommon in strophic metres, see 752. The *rhythms* of -χει τί γεν-ήσεται in 141 and \*Ογκα | πρὸ πόλε-ως in 149 are equal; and the equivalents —∪∪ = —∪ and —∪ = ∪∪∪ are both frequent. The exclamations in 139, if rightly placed, must be regarded as interrupting the *strophe*.

151—164 have been already considered.

With the exception of the *Parodos* the choric parts of the play do not offer any general difficulty, being arranged in normal *strophæ*. All of them exhibit variations of rhythm, and that these are genuine, not errors of copying, is proved by the fact that they do not coincide with faults in the language or meaning, and also by the fact that similar variations occur repeatedly. The variations only are noticed here.

186 -σασα τὸν | ἄρματ-όκτυπ-|ον = 196 -χαῖα βρέτ-|η πῖσυν-|ος θε-|οῖς. See above on 153.

206 μηδ' ἐπίδοιμι τάνδ' = 213 -σι τὰν ἀμήχανον. See above on 118.

208 ἀπτόμενον πυρὶ δαΐφ = 215 κρημναμενᾶν νεφελᾶν ὄρβοι. A 'long' syllable in *thesis* (syllable which does not take the beat of the verse) treated as a short. See above on 140. This variation is common in Aeschylus and is found even in strophic writing more exactly regular than this, e.g. Soph. *Oed. Col.* 1568 ὦ χθόνιαί θεαὶ σῶμά τ' ἀνικάτον = *ib.* 1557 εἰ θέμις ἐστὶ μοι τὰν ἀφανῇ θεόν.

219 διὰ θεῶν πόλιν = 225 ποταίνιον κλύουσ-. Cf. 206. The second *dochmius* of 225 is like the first, with the difference that the long syllable of the first iambus is 'resolved' *i.e.* represented by two short syllables. The rhythm of 225 is ποταί-|νιον | κλύουσ-||α πάταγ-|ον ἄμ-|μιγα. Both parts of it are variations of the *dochmiac* foot. In 219 I have admitted with hesitation the corrections νεμόμεθ' and ἀδάμαντος: but it is quite possible that the ms. νεμόμεσθ' ἀδάμαντον is right. The examples in tragedy tend, as far as they go, to show that ἀδάματος was the form used by the Attic poets (see Dindorf *Lexicon Aeschyleum* s. *vv.*); but they are not numerous enough for a certain induction. In form there is nothing against ἀδάμαντος, and the rhythm νεμόμεσθ' | ἀδάμαντ-|ον is a quite conceivable variation of the *dochmius*.

220 = 226. Here Porson's correction ἀκρόπολιν restores syllabic conformity, and, as the forms πόλις and πτόλις are certainly confused, it is critically little less probable than the ms. reading. But if the first syllable of ἀκρόπολιν be scanned as long, we have in the ms. only two

more examples of the variation  $- \cup \cup = - \cup$  already noticed. Between  $\acute{\alpha}\kappa\rho\acute{o}\pi\omicron\lambda\upsilon\nu$  and  $\acute{\alpha}\kappa\rho\acute{o}\pi\tau\omicron\lambda\upsilon\nu$  there is really nothing to choose<sup>1</sup>.

275 γείτονες δὲ καρδίας = 292 τᾶσδ' ἄρειον ἐχθροῖς. From a comparison of Supp. 74 ἀπειρόδακρύν τε καρδίαν and *ib.* 807 καρδίας γάμου κυρῆσαι (Hermann) it is conjectured that καρδία might be pronounced as a spondee. Whether it is to be so pronounced here depends on the rhythm of 292, which may be either  $\underline{\cup} \cup \mid \underline{\cup} \cup \mid \underline{\cup} -$  or  $\underline{\cup} \cup \mid \underline{\cup} \cup \mid \underline{\cup} \mid \underline{\cup}$ .

280—281 = 297—298. The rhythm of these lines is continuous, and except for convenience they might be printed as one verse. The division in the ms. is, as often, arbitrary; 280—81 are divided at πάν-τρομος. The rhythm is  $-\omega\nu \delta\nu\sigma-|\epsilon\nu-|\nu\acute{\alpha}\tau\omicron\rho\alpha\varsigma \mid \acute{\alpha} \mid \pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\rho\omicron\mu-|\omicron\varsigma \pi\epsilon\lambda-|\epsilon\iota\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ , answering to  $-\delta\acute{\alpha}\nu \acute{o} \mid \gamma\alpha\iota-|\acute{\alpha}\omicron-|\chi\omicron\varsigma \mid \tau\eta\theta\upsilon-|\omicron\varsigma \tau\epsilon \mid \pi\acute{\alpha}\iota\delta\epsilon\varsigma$ . For the variation  $- \cup \cup = - \cup$  see 153. For the scansion of the second syllable of λεχέων (treated as common at the 'end of the verse' or rhythmical break) cf. ῥύτορες in 305 and see 162, 225 etc. It is possible that we should read there ῥύτορες ἔστ' (ῥύτορες ἔστε τ' Ritschl), and here λεχαίων or ἔλλεχείων. But neither correction is necessary.

282—287 = 299—304. Verses of this kind—*glyconic*—may commence indifferently with  $--$ ,  $\cup -$ , or  $- \cup$ : examples of all permutations will be found here. This familiar fact is not however, as it is sometimes represented to be, a peculiarity of 'glyconic' verse, but simply an application to that verse of general principles. The 'glyconic' type is

$$\cup \mid \begin{array}{c} - \cup \\ - - \\ - \end{array} \mid - \cup \cup \mid \begin{array}{c} - \cup \\ - - \end{array}$$

for examples, χερμάδ' ὀκρίεσσαν, τοὶ μὲν γὰρ ποτὶ πύργους, κατὰ ῥίψοπλον ἄταν. The variations in the third 'foot' and the two first variations in the first 'foot' exemplify the general rule that the 'thesis' is 'common' (see on 215). The third variation of the first 'foot' implies (1) the principle of *syncope* (see on 155), and (2) that of the *anacrusis extra metrum* (see on 723).

314 = 326. For syllabic correspondence it is necessary to take νέας as a monosyllable; cf. θεός. But if this pronunciation was admitted,

<sup>1</sup> In 121 (where it should have been mentioned that M reads ῥυσίπολις) I have admitted ῥυσίπολις (*recc.*), and in 325 πτόλις (*rec.*) for πόλις. Strictly neither of these changes is necessary. In 121 the rhythm  $- \mid \underline{\cup} \cup \mid \underline{\cup} \cup \mid \underline{\cup}$  is admissible on the principles explained on 118 and 215; in 325 the rhythm  $-\cup \cup \mid -\cup \cup \mid -\cup \mid$

$\underline{\cup} \mid \underline{\cup}$ , taking the last two syllables of δαμάσθη as 'syncopated' feet, would answer correctly to  $-\cup \cup \mid \underline{\cup} \mid -\cup \mid -\cup \mid -$  in 313. But neither of these seems to me probable. In such a case as this the ms. evidence fails, and choice must be to some extent arbitrary.

we should expect the evidence for it, as in the case of *θεός*, to be abundant and conclusive. In default of such evidence, it is better to take this as a case of an *anacrusis extra metrum*: see on 723.

316=328. As the *a* of *φᾶρος* is elsewhere long in Aeschylus, *φαρέων* is probably a spondee; see on 215. The pronunciation *φᾶρῶν* is also possible; see on 280.

317. *βο-|ᾱ δ' | ἐκκενουμένα πόλις* = 329 *καπν-|ῶ δὲ | χραίνεται πόλισμ' ἅπαν.* See 155.

332—3=344—5. The metre here offers no difficulty. The anapaest *χαμάδις* answers to the iambus *ποτὶ* as it might in the first foot of an iambic senarius. For the correspondences  $\text{—} \cup | \text{—} \text{—} | \text{—} \text{—} = \text{—} \text{—} | \text{—} \cup | \text{—} \text{—}$  see on 215. The MS. divides the lines thus, *πτόλιν δ' | ὄρκανα* and *πρωὶν | ἀλγύνει*.

334. *πρὸς | ἀν-|δρὸς δ' ἀν-|ῆρ δορὶ | κλίνει-|αι* = 346 *πικρ-|ὸν δ' | ὄμμ-|α θαλα-|μηπόλ-|ων.* In 334 one foot only is syncopated (see 155), in 346 two feet. Both  $\text{—} \cup \cup$  and  $\cup \cup \cup$  occur frequently as equivalents for  $\text{—} \cup$ : here they answer to each other.

337=349.  $\text{—} \cup = \text{—} \cup \cup$ : see 153.

338=350.  $\cup \cup \cup = \text{—} \cup$ : see 334, and cf. 752.

339=351.  $\text{—} \cup = \text{—} \cup \cup$ . See 153.  $\text{—} \cup = \text{—} \text{—}$ . See 215, 333, 345.

343=355.  $\cup | \text{—} \text{—} | \text{—}$ . See 215.

404. *τὸν ἄμὸν νῦν ἀν-* = 439 *ὄλοιθ' ὅς πόλει.* See on 140, 215. By an oversight the text has the correction *ἄμὸν νυν*. The MS. accentuation should be retained, as in the note, *νῦν* being emphatic. Eteocles having distinguished between justice and fortune, the Chorus ask that *this time* fortune may follow justice.

405. *δικαίως πόλειως* = 440 *βέλος ἐπισχέθαι*, variations of the *dochmius*. See 156, 551 etc.

407=442. If the MS. reading *ὑπερκόμψ* be retained, see on 215.

468=508. Here there is some slight reason, independent of metre, to doubt the reading. See note on 468. It is also difficult to see how the rhythms can have been divided so as to be equal. Syllabic conformity cannot be restored without considerable change. (See Wecklein's *Appendix*.) Rhythmical conformity might be restored of course much more easily, e.g. by omitting *δη* in 468 and inserting *δη* after *πέποιθα* (with Robortello) in 508. The rhythms will then be *ἐπ-|είχο-|μαι | τάδε μὲν | εὐτυχ-|εῖν ἰ-|ὼ* and *πέ-|ποιθα | δη | τὸν Διὸς | ἀντί-|τυπον ἔ-|χοντ'* (or, with the MS., *ἔ-|χοντα*). But there is not evidence for any certain conclusion. 468—9 are divided in the MS. thus, *εὐτυχῆιν | ἰὼ*.

470. With the MS. reading *βᾶ-|ζουσ' ἐ-|πὶ πτό|λει* = 510 *εἴ-|κασμα*

βροτ-οῖσι | τε: - ∪ = - ∪ ∪: see 153. This is correct on principle and may be right; but the variation does not here seem agreeable, and I have admitted βάζουσιν, though logically not proveable. For the 'common' syllable τε see on 279.

470—471 = 510—511. As 510—511 are divided (rightly) in the MS., 511 has an 'anacrusis', or syllable preceding the first beat of the rhythm, which the answering verse 471 has not: see 730. It is possible, though not natural, to join καὶ to 510, and to restore syllabic conformity by reading βροτοῖς (Brunck).

551 = 614. See on 106.

553. ∪ | - - - | ∪. See 215, 355.

685 = 692, and 686 = 693. See 140, 215.

712. I do not think it clear that βλαψίφρονος Οἰδιπόδα is wrong. The appearance of such irregularities in Epic verse, from the loss of the *F*, might well produce an occasional imitation in an archaic narrative such as this.

713 = 720. - ∪ ∪ | - ∪ | - ∪ | - - = - ∪ ∪ | - ∪ ∪ | - ∪ | - ∪: see 153, 351 etc. This is a good instance of the inference which may be properly drawn as to the limits of strophic correspondence from the laws of metre as they affect single verses. The four feet of 720 are equal, the dactyls being 'trochaic' or as they are called 'cyclic' dactyls. It is therefore quite natural that in the corresponding verse one of the dactyls should be represented by an actual trochee.

721—722 = 728—729. ἐπ-|εὶ δ' ἄν | αὐτ-|οκτον-|ῶσιν | αὐτοδά-|κτ-|οι θάν-|ωσι = παλ-|αιγεν-|ῆ | γάρ λέγ-|ω παρ-|αβασί-|αν | ὠκύ-|ποινον. See 346. The correction παραιβασίαν would give syllabic conformity. This division, either with or without the correction, is possible. If we read with Porson παρβασίαν (which I think probably right), the last syllable of λέγω is a 'syncopated' foot.

723 καὶ χθονία κόνις πῆγ = 730 αἰῶνα δ' ἐς τρίτον μένει. The use of χθόνιος here is peculiar, but it must be the genuine word. The emendations which have been suggested (νεπτέρα Weil, γαῖα Hermann etc.), are all open to the objection that no copyist who found them would have been likely to substitute χθονία, either as an interpretation or otherwise. My own belief is that both lines are rightly given by the MS., and that there is an irregularity of rhythm (such as in accentual metres is scarcely considered an irregularity), the first syllable (*anacrusis*) of 730 having nothing to answer it: cf. 300, 302, 314, 511, 744, 930, and see on 952—953. For - ∪ ∪ = - ∪ see 153 etc.

726 = 733. See 215.

727 = 734. πα-|λαι-|οῖς | συμμυγ-|εῖς: see 155, 346. σφίξειν: see 215.

739 σπείρας ἄρουρᾶν = 747 μεταξὺ δ' ἄλκα. See 215.

752. τὰ δ' ὁλοὰ = 758 πόλεως (trisyllable). ∪ ∪ = -. This variation is common in all metres. - So again in 764 = 771, and perhaps in 766 = 773 (see on 275): but probably we should accept κραδίᾳ.

763. ἐπ' εἰ δ' ἄρτ' ἐφρων = 770 τέκν' οἷς δ' ἄρ' αἰᾶς. See 215.

818. Οἰδίπ' οὐ τ' ἄρ' ἄ = 826 εὐκταί' α φάτ' ις, and 821 αἵματ' οὔτα γ' εἰς = 829 οὐκ ἄμ' βλύνει' ται. See 215.

833—859. Recitative.

860—940. These strophæ are on the whole very regular in metre.

862 πατρ' ᾧ' οὖς δόμ' οὖς = 868 ἰδ' ὄντες | ἦ' δῃ. In 862 the first foot (after the *anacrusis*) is 'syncopated'; in 868 the second. See 155.

863—869. - ∪ ∪ = - ∪. See 153.

The correspondence of 864, 865 with 870, 871 is by feet only, a dactyl answering to an anapaest in the first pair, a spondee to a dactyl in the second. This correspondence 'by feet' is in fact the rule for this play in all the lyric metres.

874 = 885. See 215.

882 = 894. In the uncertainty of the readings here it is impossible to say whether the metre corresponded exactly or not. The same applies to 899.

896 = 907. See 215.

898 = 909. δᾶτ. See 215.

902 = 913. - ∪ = - ∪ ∪, if δαίφρων, not δαιόφρων, be right. See 153.

917 = 929. The rhythm of 929 is ἐ' χουσι | μοῖρ' αν λαχ' ὄν' τες μέλε' οι. See 153 and 155.

918. διατομ' αἰς = 930 δι' οὐδ' ὄτ' ων. See on 723.

922 ∪ | - ∪ | - ∪ | - = 934 ∪ | ˘ | ∪ ∪ ∪ | - : see 155, 338.

952—953. AN. μαίνεται γόοισι φρήν. IΣ. ἐντὸς δὲ καρδία στένει. This is a significant case. These verses are clearly intended to be equal in rhythm. They are so in the number of ἄρσεις or 'beats': but the first commences with a 'beat'; the second does not, but has an *anacrusis* before the 'beat'. The case of 723 = 730 is precisely the same. The changes suggested here to restore syllabic conformity seem to me improbable (ἦ μαίνεται Lachmann. ἐν δὲ Burney), and they involve similar changes in the antistrophe (967—968). A passage like this dirge in short sentences of broken meaning is peculiarly liable to injury, and in one or two places is certainly wrong. In others the reading seems to have been suspected without reason. In 949 Hermann changes προσκίεσται to πρόκεισαι in order that the verse may be divisible into two equal parts answering each other. But as 949 seems



to be sung by the two voices together (Schneider), it does not require to be divided into responses. 956—957 as given in the ms. may perhaps be scanned thus,

AN. πρὸς φί-|λον γ' || ἐφθι-|σο.

IS. καὶ φίλον | ἔκταν-|ες.

and the corresponding lines of the antistrophe thus,

AN. ἀπ-|ώλεσ-|εν || δῆτα | καὶ—

IS. τόνδ' ἐ-|νόσφισ-|εν.

For the *anacrusis* of 971 see above on 952—953. In 954 the exclamation *ὦ* should perhaps be written only once. The rhythm will then be *ἐ-|ὦ | πανδάκρ-|υτε | σύ.* 960, 961 and 975, 976 are so doubtful in reading that it is scarcely worth while to consider the metre.

Upon the whole review, we see that three types of variation from strict syllabic correspondence are common *in this play*,—for I would again remark that we are not justified in assuming that an equal strictness must be found in all the works even of the same poet:—(1) a 'syn-copated' foot answering to a complete foot; (2) the trochaic or 'cyclic' dactyl answering to a trochee proper; (3) a long syllable in 'thesis' answering to a short syllable. Each of these is proved by examples far too numerous to be due to mere accident; that *some* of the variations can be removed by slight corrections proves nothing, nor indeed, considering their number, should we be justified in removing them, if all were easily corrigible. Whether a stricter correspondence, such as we sometimes find, is preferable, no one but a native and contemporary critic could venture to say. Upon the general principles of rhythm there would seem to be advantages both in the greater and in the less regularity: and so the Greek artists appear to have thought.

## APPENDIX II.

*On ἔτυμος, ἐπήτυμος etc. in Aeschylus (vv. 81—82).*

I have reserved for separate discussion the use of ἔτυμος in v. 82—

αἰθερία κόνις με πείθει φανῆσ'  
ἄναυδος σαφῆς ἔτυμος ἄγγελος.

Not that there is any apparent difficulty in the words, which would naturally be rendered by *a messenger without voice yet clear and true*, or to that effect. But if this rendering of ἔτυμος is partly right, it nevertheless omits the chief part of the meaning, and that part which to Aeschylus justified the otherwise pointless verbosity of the description.

From a comparison of the Aeschylean examples of ἔτυμος etc., it may be shown that these words had a strong association with a certain class of ideas, of which the English *true* and *truly* give no representation. The word ἔτυμος and its congeners are found in Aeschylus as follows<sup>1</sup>:—

- |                                    |  |
|------------------------------------|--|
| (1) <i>P. V.</i> 309 (293 Dindorf) | γνώσῃ δὲ τάδ' ὥς ἔτυμ' οὐδὲ μάτην<br>χαριτογλωσσεῖν ἔνι μοι.   |
| (2) <i>ib.</i> 621 (595)           | πόθεν ἐμοῦ σὺ πατρὸς ὄνομ' ἀπύεις;<br>εἰπέ μοι τᾷ μογερά, τίς ὦν<br>τίς ἄρα μ', ὦ τάλας,<br>τὰν ταλαίπωρον ὧδ' ἔτυμα προσθροεῖς; |
| (3) <i>Theb.</i> 81                | (as above cited).  |
| (4) <i>Eum.</i> 499 (496)          | πολλὰ δ' ἔτυμα παιδότηρῳ<br>πάθεα προσμένει τοκεῦ-<br>σιν μεταῦθις ἐν χρόνῳ.   |
| (5) <i>Theb.</i> 902               | ἐτύμως δακρυχέων ἐκ φρενός.  |
| (6) <i>Eum.</i> 536 (534)          | ξύμμετρον δ' ἔπος λέγω<br>δυσεβίας μὲν ὕβρις τέκος ὥς ἐτύμως.  |

<sup>1</sup> I have adapted here with modifications parts of a paper *On a Chorus of the Choephoroi* (*Journal of Philology*, Vol. IX.)

to which I would refer the reader for further remarks connected with the subject.

(7) *Supp.* 83 (80)

ὑβριν δ' ἐτύμως<sup>1</sup> στύγοντες  
πέλοιτ' ἂν ἔνδικοι γάμοις.

(8) *Pers.* 739 (737)

ΔΑ. καὶ πρὸς ἡπειρον σεσῶσθαι τήνδε,  
τοῦτ' ἐτήτυμον;  
ΑΤ. ναί· λόγος κρατεῖ σαφηνῆς τοῦτο,  
οὐκ ἔνι στάσις.

(9) *Ag.* 177 (166)

Ζεὺς, ὅστις πότε ἔστιν, εἰ τόδ' αὖ-  
τῷ φίλον κεκλημένῳ,  
τοῦτό νιν προσενέπω.  
οὐκ ἔχω προσεικάσαι  
πάντ' ἐπισταθμώμενος  
πλὴν Διός, εἰ τὸ μάταν  
ἀπὸ φροντίδος ἄχθος  
χρὴ βαλεῖν ἐτητύμως.

(10) *ib.* 483 (477)

εἰ δ' ἐτήτυμος<sup>2</sup> (ἡ βάξις)

(11) *ib.* 686 (681)

τίς οἶδεν, ἧ τοι θεῖόν ἐστι μὴ ψύθος;  
τίς ποτ' ὠνόμαζεν ὧδ'  
ἐς τὸ πᾶν ἐτητύμως—  
μή τιν' ὄντιν' οὐχ ὀρώμεν,  
προνοίαισι τοῦ πεπρωμένου  
γλώσσαν ἐν τύχῃ νέμων—  
τὰν δορίγαμβρον ἀμφίνει-  
κῇ θ' Ἑλέναν; ἐπεὶ πρεπόντως  
Ἑλέανυς, ἑλανδρος, ἐλέπολις...ἐπλευσεν.  
ἔμολε δ' ᾧ μέλει κρυπταδίου μάχας δο-  
λιόφρων ποινά.

(12) *Cho.* 946 (948)

ἔθιγε δ' ἐν μάχῃ χερὸς ἐτήτυμος  
Διὸς κόρα. Δίκαν δέ νιν  
προσαγορεύομεν  
βροτοὶ τυχόντες καλῶς.

(13) *Eum.* 491 (488)

κρίνασα δ' ἀστῶν τῶν ἐμῶν τὰ βέλτατα  
ἧξω διαιρεῖν τοῦτο πράγμ' ἐτητύμως.

(14) *Supp.* 744 (736)

περίφοβόν μ' ἔχει τάρβος ἐτητύμως,  
πολυδρόμου φυγᾶς ὄφελος εἰ τί μοι.

The first review of these examples will show that the use of these words is by no means a simple matter. Out of fourteen cases no less than nine offer difficulties, which cannot be resolved by the renderings *true, truly* in their proper senses, *viz.* 'in accordance with the facts', as a quality of words or propositions. And it is to be remembered

<sup>1</sup> ἐτοίμως M (ἐτύμως is proved by the metre).

<sup>2</sup> ἐτητύμως M.

that this is the primary and properly speaking the only sense of *ἐνυμος* : the English *true*, *truly* cover a large ambiguity of meaning, and must be used with caution. Passing for the present No. 3 (now under discussion)—in No. 4 *ἐνυμα*, *true*, has no meaning : in No. 5 *truly weeping* will not pass, unless we tacitly assume that *ἐνυμος*, like *truly*, can mean *honestly* or *sincerely* : in No. 6 a useless *truly* does not satisfy the emphatic *ὡς ἐνυμος*, which, by its position, should contain the point of the sentence : in No. 7 we must again assume the meaning *sincerely* : in No. 9 *ἐπηνυμος* must mean *completely* or *fully*, another hypothetical sense, and we have the same difficulty about the emphasis as in No. 6 : in No. 12 *ἐπήνυμος Διὸς κόρα* is commonly regarded as unintelligible ; *ἐπηνυμος*, the conjecture of Scaliger, leaves the passage little, if at all, less obscure<sup>1</sup> : in No. 13 we have the same problem as before ; ‘to divide the cause truly’ can appear satisfactory only if we mentally give to *truly* the sense of *honestly*, which is not the sense of *ἐπηνυμος* ; and lastly, in No. 14 *ἐπηνυμος* is again emphatic by position, and *truly* again pointless.

To appreciate fully the cumulative force of these difficulties, as proof that the use of the words in question is peculiar and must have some special explanation, it would be well to try a similar experiment upon fourteen examples *taken at random* of *ἀληθής* and *ἀληθῶς*. It will certainly satisfy the reader that there is a case for further investigation.

If now we again examine the above passages, to see whether any of them have resemblances, such as may help towards a more exact definition, we see that there is a striking resemblance in four of them, Nos. 2, 9, 11, and 12. In all these four the subject of the passage is *the correct use of a name*. Considering the wide application of the word *true* (even in the strictly limited sense), this number of coincidences is extremely remarkable, as again may easily be ascertained by the suggested experiment upon *ἀληθής*. Further, we notice that in one of these four, one in which the meaning of *ἐπήνυμος* is free from all ambiguity (No. 11), it describes a peculiar kind of truth, namely verbal or—the word arises inevitably—*etymological* truth, a correspondence between a name and that which is called by the name. This

<sup>1</sup> Mr A. Sidgwick in his edition of the *Choephori* renders the adjective by ‘the true, the very’, and adds the explanation ‘Justice *herself* took his hand’. The translation of *ἐθιγε χερός* appears to me inadmissible: there is nothing in the con-

text to warrant the reference of *χερός* to the hand of the avenger Orestes. The translation of *ἐπήνυμος* I could accept, though even so we are forcing the word. At any rate this passage is certainly to be added to our ‘difficulties’.

special sense of τὸ ἔτυμον has since appropriated the word entirely, to the exclusion of all other meanings; and this appropriation took place so early that in the common language of Greek prose this class of words does not appear. Putting these facts together with those which we have observed in Aeschylus, we are justified in the inference that already in his time the process of limitation had commenced and had to some extent changed the colour of the word. Already τὸ ἔτυμον was somewhat closely associated with *etymology*. The history of the earliest Greek studies in this field, like that of other beginnings, is obscure, but it is certain that they received an impetus about Aeschylus' time, and that they attracted the attention of the poets and of Aeschylus himself. It is not necessary to pursue the subject further here; but I may perhaps refer to the paper already mentioned. For Aeschylus the *Seven against Thebes* would alone be ample proof<sup>1</sup>.

Seeing then that we have on the one hand many difficulties in the Aeschylean use of ἔτυμος etc., and on the other hand a known fact about the history of the word, the question presents itself,—can we use the one to solve the other? Where we found difficulties can we find ἔτυμα, in the special sense? Does the point turn on some unexpected significance of the *words* which are used? I think that this solution can be applied with an ease and completeness much greater than our small knowledge of Aeschylean Greek would permit us to expect, and sufficient to put beyond question the general correctness of the hypothesis. And I would particularly ask the reader to observe how great is the improbability that, if an etymological point was *not* intended, we should be able to find one, even in a single instance, much less in six or nine.

In No. 6 of our list the missing point can be supplied at once. It is an apt word, says Aeschylus, that "insolence (ὑβρις) is the child (τέκος) of impiety ὡς ἐρύμωσ". Why ὡς ἐρύμωσ? Because insolence under another name is synonymous with τέκος, the word κόρος having both meanings. The antiquity of this ethical *etymon* is proved by the fact, that expressions derived from it are found scattered over the older poets, κόρος being sometimes the 'son' begotten of ὑβρις, sometimes the 'male' (κόρος as opposed to κόρη), who begets her; τίκτει τοι κόρος ὑβριν (Theognis), ὑβριν κόρον ματέρα (Pindar), κόρον ὑβριος νιόν (ancient oracle attributed to Bacis<sup>2</sup>). This example is further instructive as proving not only that these etymological illustrations were to the Greek mind suitable for the gravest subjects (Aeschylus himself sufficiently proves that), but that some such *etyma* had passed into maxims or proverbs, and could

<sup>1</sup> See Index II. *Verbal Equivocations*.

<sup>2</sup> See *Lex. s. v. κόρος*.

be referred to by way of allusion, the hearer supplying the key-word. The meaning of *ὡς ἐτύμως* then is *in the truest sense*, *i.e.* as the name shows by a remarkable coincidence intended for the instruction of man.—In No. 7 we have the same *etymon* in a slightly different form. The Danaïdes are imploring the gods to preserve them from an enforced marriage with their cousins. When they say that the gods ‘detest such insolence *as it truly is*’, the spirit which they so describe is *ὁ τοῦ κόρου κόρος*, the ‘masculine violence’ of the would-be bridegrooms, whose very name of *κόρος* signifies their character. It is the same *ἀνδρὸς ὕβρις* which, according to *v.* 502 of our play, is detested by the virgin goddess Athena.—In No. 13 the situation is this; Athena, having declared the cause of Orestes to be too grave for the judgment of a man and too impure for her own interference, announces her intention to summon a jury of Athenian citizens, who decide it by division of votes. This process she describes in the citation by the words *διαρεῖν τὸ πρᾶγμα* *to divide the cause*, and to this phrase is added *ἐτητύμως*. Obviously the *etymon*, if there be one, must lie in the word *διαρεῖν*. Can it be by accident that we are again led straight to a verbal resemblance, which the Greeks are known to have observed and to have made the basis of a derivation, between *δικάζω* *judge* and *διχάζω* (= *διαίρῃ*) *divide*? Such an accident is incredible, and we cannot but conclude that *ἐτητύμως* is intended to call attention to the spontaneous evidence of language in favour of *judgment by division*<sup>1</sup>.—Not less clear is the case of No. 12. From internal evidence alone I should think it certain that this passage contained an *etymon*. I can see no other meaning in the words “We mortals make a happy hit in calling her *Δίκη*”. Seeing that the “daughter of Zeus” here is *Δίκη* herself and no one else, how can it be a “happy hit” to call her by her only name, unless that name is found to have some unintended significance? The signification intended is clear enough:—*Upon him that loves clandestine battle hath come a crafty vengeance: the daughter of Zeus, most truly named, hath hit him<sup>2</sup> in a battle of might, she whom*

<sup>1</sup> In the paper above cited I suggested that the key-words *κόρος*, *κόρον*, *διχάζειν* ought to be restored to the text of the above passages for *τέκος*, *ὑβριν* and *διαρεῖν* respectively, which might have been originally explanations of them. This is not impossible or even improbable, but on the whole I think it more likely that the texts are right, and that the *etyma* were sufficiently familiar to be intelligible

by allusion. And so with other instances hereafter noticed.

<sup>2</sup> The object of *ἔθιγε* is supplied from the previous clause. To the use of the word there is an exact parallel in Eur. *Bacch.* 1179. *ΧΟ. τίς ἀβαλοῦσα πρῶτα; ΑΓ. ἐμὸν τὸ γέρας. ΧΟ. τίς ἄλλα; ΑΓ. τὰ Κάδμου γένεθλα μετ’ ἐμὲ τοῦδ’ ἔθιγε θηρός.* For *μάχα χερὸς* cf. Eur. *fr.* 291 and the phrase *ἐς χείρας ἐλθεῖν* *to engage*

*we mortals happily call* Δίκη. It is the *spear* of justice, cast at the guilty Aegisthus, which is in the mind of the poet, and he would connect her name with δικάειν *to throw*.—No. 11 needs no explanation.—In No. 4 the *etymon* should lie in παιδότηρωτα, and here it is at once discoverable, for παιδότηρωτον πάθος means not only ‘wound struck by a child’, but also ‘wound struck with the point’<sup>1</sup> of the weapon, and apart from the context the second would be the more natural of the two.—No. 5, a clear and simple case, has been already explained in the notes.—In No. 9 the case is more doubtful. It is possible to render εἰ τὸ μάταν ἀπὸ φροντίδος ἄχθος χρη βαλεῖν ἐτητύμως by ‘if in good truth I must cast from me the vain load of care’ (Mr A. Sidgwick’s translation). It is possible, but not satisfactory. The order shows that ἐτητύμως is closely connected with βαλεῖν. But ‘to cast truly’ is an impossible phrase, unless *truly* be taken to mean *thoroughly*, which ἐτητύμως does not. Moreover, in the translation the words ‘in good truth’ are at best superfluous; in the Greek ἐτητύμως by its position is all-important. If on the contrary we seek an *etymon*, there is no difficulty in finding it. The frame of the passage shows that it must be an *etymon* upon the name Διὸς and must be suggested by the word βαλεῖν. The key-word is again to be found in δι-κεῖν<sup>2</sup>: the religious *etymon* to which Aeschylus alludes connected the syllable Δι- in the sacred name with ὁ δικών, and interpreted it, by the gymnastic use of δικάειν, as a symbol of strength. Such a derivation will seem quite natural to those who are acquainted with ancient etymologies. So stands the evidence, not decisive on either side. If the passage stood alone, I should incline against an etymological reference. The general argument from the use of ἐτήτυμος elsewhere in Aeschylus turns the balance the other way.—In No. 14 I am unable to offer any solution with confidence. If I may trust my ear, the prominent position of ἐτήτυμως demands a meaning at least more pertinent than *truly*, and this of itself satisfies me that the explanation to be sought is etymological. The speakers appear to compare themselves to animals chased and not able to escape any further<sup>3</sup>.

*in fight*: there is a special point in the antithesis between κρυπτάδιος μάχη (cf. Hom. *Il.* 6. 161) and μάχη χερός, but it would take us too far to examine it. As in the previous cases the etymology is presumed by the poet as already known.

<sup>1</sup> From *pals*, *point*, connected with παλω. See Hesychius παιδός ἀκμής. This gloss has been supposed, but without reason, to be corrupt.

<sup>2</sup> δικάειν βαλεῖν—Hesychius. I think it probable that δικάειν was actually the text, seeing that Hesychius abounds in glosses based on the text of Aeschylus. But this assumption is neither necessary nor demonstrable. For further illustrations of this passage see the paper already cited.

<sup>3</sup> See their language at *v.* 352 (349) where a similar metaphor is more fully worked out.

I formerly suggested that the *etymon* lay in *περίφοβον*, which, commonly meaning *very terrible*, is here to be pressed to the full etymological sense of *surrounding with terror*; and this, I think, is true as far as it goes. But it cannot be the complete account of the matter, for by the order of the words the *etymon* must include *τάρβος*. Is it not probable that this word, like the Latin equivalent *formido*, had, beside its common meaning, a technical sense in the language of hunters, *viz.* the *scare*, a line of feathers or the like, with which animals were driven? This at any rate would at once permit a complete explanation: *ἐτητύμως* would have the same force as elsewhere ‘*α περίφοβον τάρβος truly so called*’, and would mark the allusive metaphor which *τάρβος* is intended to suggest.

In four of our examples, Nos. 1, 2, 8, 10, there is no trace of *etyma*; and in none of these accordingly is there the slightest ambiguity in the use of *ἔτυμος* or *ἐτήτύμως*, which applies, in the strictest sense of the word *true*, to a proposition, a thing said. All the others have now been examined, with the exception of No. 3, the original subject of these remarks, to which we will now turn.

*αἰθερία κόνις με πείθει φανεῖσ'*  
*ἄναυδος σαφῆς ἔτυμος ἄγγελος.*

It will be observed that here *ἔτυμος* is not used exactly in the proper sense: *τὸ ἔτυμον* is properly the quality not of the messenger but of the message. In itself this is not remarkable; the *Lexicon* will show other such uses both of *ἔτυμος* and of similar words, such as *σαφῆς* or *ἀληθής*. But in the light of the other evidence, the slightest irregularity must excite our attention. The question may be put thus. Does the combination *κόνις-ἄγγελος* admit of an etymological interpretation? If it does, the presence of *ἔτυμος* is sufficient to assure us that this interpretation was in the mind of the poet. But it is certain that it does admit this interpretation; for to the Greek ear the stem *κον-* suggested not merely ‘dust’ but also ‘an errand-runner’ or ‘servant’, as is proved by the extant words *κονητής* a *servant* and the compound *ἐγκονεῖν*, both implying the previous existence of *κονεῖν* and *κόνος*. It is even probable, from the analogy of *λάτρης*, that this stem also formed a masculine diminutive *κόνις*, having the same meaning<sup>1</sup>. This of course cannot be proved, neither is it necessary to our present purpose. We know

<sup>1</sup> cum maximis ferarum greges linea pennis distincta contineat et in insidias agat, ab ipso effectu dicta *formido*. (Sen. de Ira, II. 12.)

<sup>2</sup> From this and not from *κόνις*, *dust*, was probably derived *κορίποδες*, a local name for *serfs* at Epidaurus. See the *Lex. s. v.*



enough to see that the association between *κόνις* and *ἄγγελος* was natural to a mind studious of such things, and we know also that this association was permanent, for in the *Supplikes* (v. 186) the words of our passage are repeated—*ὄρω κόνιν, ἄνανδον ἄγγελον στρατοῦ*. All this being so, it may remain possible that Aeschylus described *κόνις* as *ἔτυμος ἄγγελος*, and yet did *not* mean to suggest that the very name of *κόνις* imported the function. But it requires 'a robust faith' to believe it.

In considering the whole subject, and generally in the study of Aeschylus, we must of course dismiss wholly from our minds the modern feeling about equivocation in words. If anything is certain in history, it is certain that the feeling, which regards such things as fit only for the lightest kind of jest, would have seemed to Aeschylus not merely exaggerated but absurd, irreverent, and wholly unintelligible. Dante was far enough from our doctrine in this matter, and Shakespeare still farther, but Aeschylus is ten times as far again from Shakespeare. To the unscientific mind the meaning of a word or a name, like that of *Helen*, was the writing of God. It is not in the mouth of a jester, but in that of the holy prophet Amphiaraus, that he puts the equivocation upon the name *Polynices*. It is in a passage of the most highly-wrought emotion, such as the dirge in the present play, that he is boldest and most abundant in such touches as

πέπνυται δ' ἔχθος, ἐν δὲ γάλα  
ζῶα φονορρύτῳ  
μέμικται· κάρτα δ' εἶσ' ὀμαιμοί.

It is not our province to justify him, as assuredly we should think many times before we venture to condemn. Good or bad, such was his feeling and his practice—a significant mark of the interval between our minds and his, and a warning not hastily to assure ourselves that we have succeeded in passing it.

## TRANSLATION.

*Scene.* THE CADMEA. *Time.* DAY-BREAK.

*Eteocles.* Townsmen of Cadmus, speech must be fitted to the time. Whoso watcheth the course and setteth the tiller at the helm of a state, let him do it with never-slumbering eye. For if we should prosper, fortune hath the praise; but if—which heaven forbid!—mischance should befall, then would ‘Eteocles’ be the one burden multiplied by the townfolk up and down with ominous roar and outcry, from which may Zeus the Protector, for his name’s sake, protect the Cadmean town! And it is your part now, all of you,—both him that yet lacks of perfect manhood, and him who for age beareth no more the body’s increase, and every man of prime according to his vigour—to succour the town and the altars of her inhabiting gods, and save from destruction the religion of her children and of earth their kindly foster-mother. For she it was who, welcoming all the cumber of your childhood’s care, nourished on benign soil your growing youth, to be her householders and shieldbearers, in whom she trusted, that ye might be created against the present need.

And herein up to this present fortune inclines to us: for throughout this long beleaguering our war in sallies hath been for the more part prosperous. But now, as says the prophet who feedeth the fowls, he who by ear and mind distinguishes the omens which without fire the birds reveal to his never-erring skill,—he, master of such divination, tells that a crowning assault and enterprise of the Achaeans upon the town is planning in the night’s debate. But away to the parapets, to the gates of the wall, hie all of you, harness yourselves in haste; man the breast-works, post yourselves on the platforms, and await the moment of sally with a good courage. Be not much afraid of the foreign throng. Fortune will stand by us still. Scouts I have sent myself to espy their host, such as I trust will well do their errand, and when I have their report, I shall not be craftily surprised.

(*Enter a SPY.*)

*Spy.* Noble Eteocles, king of the Cadmeans, I bring from the host a sure report of their doings, whereof I myself have been eye-witness. Seven warriors, each the gallant captain of a band, putting their hands to the gore of a bull as they shed into a shield the crimson stain, swore an oath by Ares Enyos and by Terror who thirsts for blood, either to do destruction on the Cadmeans' fortress and, come who may, to depopulate their town, or dying themselves to mingle this earth with gore<sup>1</sup>. And to remember them unto their parents at home, they hung keepsakes with their own hands on Adrastus' chariot, dropping a tear, though there was no lamenting of the lips; for their iron spirit, burning with valour, breathed as the breath of lions when battle is in their eyes.

And they will know further of the matter without flinching, for I left them casting lots, how they should themselves lead each his band against an appointed gate. Therefore let thy bravest soldiers, chosen from all the folk, be placed with all speed to sally forth from the gates. For near at hand already the whole array of Argives comes in a cloud of dust, and the plain is flecked with white foam blown from their steeds. Thou, like a good helmsman of a ship, bulwark thy fortress ere the hurricane of war bursts down; for their host, a sea upon the land, is beginning to roar. And thereto seize the speediest occasion. I after this shall have daylight proof of what I see<sup>2</sup>; so shalt thou know by certain report the news from without, and shalt take no harm.

[*Exit Spy.*]

*Eteocles.* Ah, Zeus and Earth, ah, gods of this place, and thou, Curse of my father, his mighty Avengeress, let not my town at least be rooted out, stem and stock, by conquering foes altogether destroyed,—this folk, this spring of Hellenic speech, with the homes and hearths therein. Yield not the free land and town of Cadmus to be held of slavish yokes<sup>3</sup>(?). Be ye her help. I plead methinks in part for you; a town that prospers rewards her deities.

[*Exit Eteocles, citizens, etc.*]

(*Enter the CHORUS OF MAIDENS, flying to the Acropolis. The entrance-song is recited or sung partly by single voices, partly by semi-chorus or full chorus. The exact distribution is not ascertained.*)

*Chorus.* Woe, woe! a great and fearful thing!

The host hath passed their rampart's limit, and the fore-running

<sup>1</sup> or, with τῆδε, 'to mingle the earth, as thus, with gore'.

<sup>2</sup> literally, 'shall have my eye sure, as seeing by day'. See head-note.

<sup>3</sup> See the notes.

multitude of horsemen flows toward us, a mighty stream. I know by the dust, seen high in the air, telling without voice a message plain and true.

And lo! my native plain, smitten by their hoofs, urges upon mine ear a sound, a hovering sound, that roars like a resistless water smiting a mountain side.

Ah, gods and goddesses, avert the rushing woe!

Chasing the defenders<sup>1</sup> toward the citadel, the crowd of white shields comes lightly over the wall.

Who then will rescue, who then help, what god, what goddess?

And I—of all these, our fathers' deities, before which shall I fall? Oh, throned and blessed ones! quick! let us cling to them! why waste the time in fruitless wail?—

Hear ye, or hear ye not, the clatter of shields?—

Robes and wreaths, the means of supplication, when shall we embrace them, if not now?—

That clash! I see it! The spear is in that sound!—

What wilt thou do to thy land, oh Ares, wilt thou leave her, thou, her god of old? thou of the golden helm, look, look upon the town, which once thou didst take for thy well-beloved.

Gods of this high place, come, oh come all! Look upon a maiden band praying never to be slaves. For round about the citadel is seething a human wave of sloping crests, driven on by the breath of War.

But oh Zeus, oh Father Almighty, from sack of foemen deliver us yet; though Argives surround the fortress of Cadmus, and the weapons of their warfare scare us, though they bind the mouths of their horses with bridles whose sound is death,—though seven proud chieftains, in arms conspicuous above the martial host, were in act to take before each gate of the Seven their allotted posts.

Thou too, Zeus-born, warlike, victorious, prove thyself, oh Pallas, the saviour of the town. And thou, Poseidon, lord of the horse, lord of the sea by the fish-spear, thine engine, with deadly purpose let, oh let thy weapon fly!

Thou Ares also, oh! for the very name's sake guard Cadmus' town, and show thyself in love a father to her.

And Cypri, who art our first mother, succour us; of thy blood are we born; crying with loud prayers unto thee we draw nigh.

Thou too, Lord of the Wolf, prove thy wolf-name with wail and howl upon the host of the foe, and thou also, oh maiden born of Leto!—

Hark, hark, the rattle of chariots! I hear it round the town!—

<sup>1</sup> reading βόαν.

Ah, lady Hera !—

'Tis the naves crying beneath the axles' load.—

Artemis, beloved !—

And oh, how the mad air quivers to the spears !—

What is done to our town? what is to come? and whither beyond is Fate leading the event?

But oh, the slingers' hail of stones upon the battlements is coming ! Ah, beloved Apollo,—Hark to the din of brazen shields at the gates !—and oh, Onca, chaste power of war, stablished by Zeus, and blessed queen of patriot battle, rescue thy seven-gated seat.

Ah gods, whose property is to help, gods and goddesses, who by your office are guardians of these towers, yield not the war-stricken town to a host of alien speech. Listen, oh listen to the prayer of maiden hands righteously upraised.

Ah kind divine deliverers, stand over the town, and show the kindness that ye bear her. Think on her public sacrifices, think on them and succour, and keep in remembrance her acceptable feasts.

(*Enter ETEOCLES, with citizens, etc.*)

*Eteocles.* Answer me you, creatures intolerable ! is this then the best way to save the beleaguered town and to encourage her soldiers here,—to fling yourselves before the images of this sacred place with howling and screaming, such as decent ones abhor?

Never in evil days nor good may I house with ever a one of the female kind<sup>1</sup> ! While she is strong, she is too insolent to live near, and when she takes alarm, mischievous to house and to town yet more. So now, with this flight ye have taken through the townsmen, your noise hath spread among them a spiritless cowardice. But 'tis the very best way to aid the enemy without and make a breach upon us with our own hands from within ! And if any refuse obedience to my authority,

<sup>1</sup> *vr.* 170—171. These lines may be taken in three slightly different ways: either (i) joining *φίλη* with *εὐεστοῖ* and reading *τῷ*, 'never may I house with the female kind'; or (ii) joining *φίλη* with *εὐεστοῖ* and reading *τῷ*, 'never may I house with anything feminine' (*τι γυναικεῖον γένει*); or (iii) joining *φίλη* as substantive (*love*) with *ξύνοικος* and reading *τῷ*: *τῷ* and *γυναικεῖω* are then feminine agreeing with *φίλη* (cf. *Cho.* 877) and *γένει* is constructed as in (ii). In recitation there would be no ambiguity, as the inflexion of

the voice would decide. (i) is the simplest, but the least probable. Both in (i) and (ii) *φίλη* is otiose. Neither (ii) nor (iii) seems to have been suggested; Hermann objecting to (i) reads *φύτῳ*: for other suggestions see Wecklein's *Appendix*. For *φίλη* as used in (iii) cf. *Soph. El.* 652 *φίλοισι ξυνοῦσαν οἷς ξύνειμι νῦν*: we have no English word which covers *φίλος*. On the whole I prefer (iii): the superfluity of definition in *φίλη γυναικεῖος γένει* improves the rhetorical point, and resembles the style of *v.* 179.

man or woman or what may be between, not only shall the death of that debater be debated, but the people have 'stones', which assuredly he shall not escape<sup>1</sup>. In things without let not woman advise, for they are man's affair<sup>2</sup>; being within, she is like enough to hinder.—Didst thou hear or didst thou not? or art thou deaf?

*Cho.* Ah, son of Oedipus, dear, I *heard*, and with terror, the drumming of the chariots, and all the rolling bass of their wheels; I heard the harsh pipe of the guiding-gear in the horse's mouth, roaring as with fire;—

*Et.* What then? Did ever a sailor find the means of safety who fled from helm to prow, when the ship laboured in the tossing of the sea?

*Cho.* —but I ran quick to the ancient images divine, and put my trust in the gods. When rose the roar of the deadly hail hailing upon the gates, then, oh then I was carried up by fear to supplicate the Blessed Ones, that their strength might shield the town.

*Et.* Pray that *the wall* may keep out the foeman's spear; (will it not be still the gods that do it<sup>3</sup>): but as for them, the gods of a taken town desert her citadel, 'tis said.

*Cho.* Never while I live may this holy company depart; never may I see this high place over-run, and they that fight for it burning in the fire of the foe!

*Et.* Invoke me not the gods for thy mischievous debating. Prosperity, saith the legend, hath for her mother the wife of Protection, Obedience.

*Cho.* 'Tis so: but yet the divine might is above all, and in many a woe doth lift up her that is helpless, even out of sore distress, when clouds hang over her eyes.

*Et.* Nay this is men's part in the struggle with the foe, to serve the gods with victim and divination: thine is to be silent and bide within the house.

*Cho.* We hold the citadel, safe by the grace of heaven, and still the wall keeps back the throng of the foe. What need for jealous displeasure at this?

*Et.* Worship, I grudge thee not, any gods and all. But if only thou disheartenest not thy fellow men, thou mayest be easy and not much afraid.

<sup>1</sup> An adequate English version of *vv.* 180—181 is impossible, as the antitheses of ψῆφος-λῶας, βουλή-δῆμος, ἀκούειν-βουλεύεσθαι belong neither to our language nor our history: see the notes.

<sup>2</sup> The order is μὴ γυνῇ βουλευέτω τᾶξω-θεν, μέλει γὰρ ἀνδρῶν.

<sup>3</sup> or, without the interrogation, 'the gods at any rate will not do it'.

*Cho.* It was the strangeness of the confused din which scared and frightened me to the reverend sanctuary of this hill.

*Et.* And now, if ye should hear of death or of wounds, make no fastidious(?) outcry; for this is Ares' food, even the blood of men.

*Cho.* There! Yes, I hear it—the neighing of steeds.

*Et.* Now that thou hearest plain, be not too quick to hear.

*Cho.* A low sound comes from the earth, as it were the roll of them circling round.

*Et.* Is it not enough that I take thought for all?

*Cho.* I fear—but the hammering at the gates grows louder!

*Et.* Nay, hush! Surely thou wilt not tell it in the town!

*Cho.* Oh ye united powers, yield not up your fortress.

*Et.* Ah, curses upon thee! Silence thy cries and bear.

*Cho.* Gods, citizens of this city, save me from slavery!

*Et.* Thou thyself makest slaves of me and all the people.

*Cho.* Almighty Zeus, let the blow fall upon those thou lovest not!

*Et.* Ah Zeus, what a thing thou madest, making woman!

*Cho.* Wretched she is, and man no less, when their town is taken.

*Et.* What! evil omens now!—though thy hand is upon thy gods!

*Cho.* When the spirit is gone, fear surpriseth the tongue.

*Et.* It were so easy, if thou would'st be entreated—

*Cho.* Thou hast but to say the word—and I will see<sup>1</sup>.

*Et.* Be still, perverse one; put not thy friends in fear.

*Cho.* I am still; the general fate I too must share.

*Et.* This saying of thine I take rather than those before: and to this, seeing thou hast hold upon the images of our gods, thou must add—which were better still—thy prayers<sup>2</sup>, that the gods will fight with us. Also thou must hear me pray, and thyself—for it is thy sacred privilege—raise at the close of the prayer the joyful cry, rendering, after the custom of Hellas, thy service of the religious note which cheers the friend and scares the foe. And for my part, unto the deities of this place, be they of the citadel or the plain or watch they over the market, and to the streams Dircean, our river of Ismenus—unto these I vow that, if we prosper and when the town is safe, *their* altars shall men dye with the blood of sheep, to *them* shall the bull be slain, and *here* will I set trophies, when I shall hang before the shrines of the holy temples the spear-battered spoils of war,—fresh gifts from the enemy to this their vestuary.

Thus must thou make thy vows to the gods, not with much sighing,

<sup>1</sup> literally, 'say it, pray, as quickly as possible, and I shall know anon', or 'shall perhaps know'. They are yielding, but

their hesitation returns.

<sup>2</sup> or 'add thy prevailing prayers'.

nor with vain savage screams. For the doom of all will be inevitably thine. I will haste back again and will be naming seven, myself for one, to answer the foe's great challenge at our gates,—here, at my return, ere yet our scouts, loud and impatient, bring to our debate the heat of urgency.

[*Exit Eteocles.*]

*Chorus.* I heed his words; but yet—terror suffers not my heart to slumber: sad thoughts, too nigh to her, still quicken her dread of the beleaguering folk: and as one who fears a snake for her nestlings, so doth she fear, poor trembling dove, them who would ravish our embraces. For lo, one part are mounting the wall, by troops and by multitudes—ah, what will become of me?—while others, to divide the defence, shower upon our men the flinty stone. Gods, sons of Zeus, by all your power, rescue the sons of Cadmus, his soldiers and citizens<sup>1</sup>.

And what soil will ye take instead, better than this, if ye surrender to the foe yon land, deep of mould, and the Dircaean water, healthfullest stream to drink of all poured forth by earth-embracing Poseidon and by Tethys' sons? Therefore, oh gods of this place, cast down into the foe without the wall a strong delusion, that they fling their arms away and die; and win thereby high honour of this people: and at our loud and lamentable entreaty, bide on your thrones, our public saviours.

For 'tis a piteous thing to send into perdition a town of old time like this, to make her a prize of the spear, humbled to dust and ashes, ravaged without respect by worshippers of Achaean gods:—piteous too, that her daughters bereaved should be haled along, ah misery, both young and old, as horses by the forelock, while men pluck their raiment from them! The city, left desert, as the captive train with divers tones of lamentation passes away, doth cry 'I dread for thee a horrible fate'.

And a woeful thing it is for the fresh maids to pass the hated threshold of those that will wait no rites ere they pluck the flower<sup>2</sup>—What say I? Oh, he that is slain, I say, hath a better fate than theirs.

For many, ah many miseries befall a taken town:—each hales his prisoner off, murdering here, and burning there, till all the place grows foul with smoke, as the Spirit of War, maddened with conquest of a people, breathes upon fair Reverence his defiling breath.

Up the street comes the rumbling din, as the ring, like a wall, closes

<sup>1</sup> πόλις collective for πολῖται; the rendering 'town' is excluded by the balance of the sentence.

<sup>2</sup> literally, 'the threshold of the hated

houses of those etc.' or, reading ἀρτιτρόπων ὠμοδρόποις νομίμων προπάρειθεν! 'for maids, deflowered before seasonable rites, to pass the threshold of hated houses'.



on the citadel<sup>1</sup>. Man falls slain beneath the spear of man; the nursing mothers, red with blood, scream at the bleating of their babes; and the little ones are chased and seized. They that have made booty mess together, and they that have not bid each other to the feast, none refusing a partner, even as hungry, aye, or hungrier than himself. What need now to be calculating shares?

Foison of every soil is flung on the ground, sorrowful to encounter, while the mistresses of the store look bitterly, and many a boon of earth, mingled without distinction, pours in torrents wastefully away. And the young slave-girls, miserable prizes of a fortunate spear, feel their grief anew: for when the foe is master their prospect is to attend an office of the night, which doth refresh their tearful griefs.

*One of the Chorus*<sup>2</sup>. Lo, friends, he that went to spy the host brings us, I judge, some fresh tidings thereof, and urges for haste the play of his returning feet.

*Another of the Chorus*. And see, the royal son of Oedipus himself will come at the instant to hear the man's report. He too, like the other, hath not foot enough for his haste.

(*Enter on one side the SPY, on the other side ETEOCLES with the six champions, attended.*)

*Spy*. I can tell from good knowledge the state of our adversaries, and how the gates are allotted unto each.

Tydeus is already before the gate *Proetides*, roaring with rage, though their prophet forbids to pass Ismenus, because the sacrifices prove not favourable. But Tydeus, eager and hungry for fight, in tones like the serpent's hiss at noon, would sting Oecleus' son with the taunt that, prophet in his cunning, he shrinks from death and from battle, because 'he hath no spirit in him'. So cries he and shakes the three overshadowing crests, which hang like a mane upon his helm, with brazen bells of terrible clangour fastened thereto.

Wrought upon his shield he heareth this proud blazon, a heaven a-fire with the lesser stars<sup>3</sup> and conspicuous at the centre of the buckler the eldest of stars, night's eye, the full bright moon. Thus

<sup>1</sup> literally 'and a wall-like ring' or 'enclosure (comes) toward the citadel'. *ὀγκάνα πυργῶτις* is perhaps the assailants themselves, who are pressing from all points towards the centre. That *πόλις* here means the citadel, or central height, is evident from the distinction made between *πόλις* and *ἄστυ*. But the inter-

pretation is wholly uncertain.

<sup>2</sup> This and the following speech are spoken by the leading voices of the Chorus on the two sides—*dux hemichorii*, Wecklein.

<sup>3</sup> or, reading *ὑπ' ἄστροις*, 'a blazing heaven and stars thereupon'.

in boastful arms expressing his fancy, he bellows at the river's bank, yearning for battle, like a horse breathing furiously upon his bit, when he waits panting for the sound of the trumpet. Whom wilt thou oppose to him? Who, when the 'barrier' is 'opened', may be trusted to defend the gate of Proetus?

*Et.* The gawds upon a man will never frighten me. Blazonry doth not wound, and crest and bell have no sting without the spear.

And as for this 'night', splendid with the heavenly stars, which chance, thou sayest, has put upon his shield—the fool may prove prophetic because he hath no *wit*. For should his 'night' fall upon his dying eyes, then will the boastful blazon prove to the bearer a real night and a true: and so his present insolence is a prophecy against himself.

For my part, I will oppose to Tydeus as champion of the portal the good son of Astacus here, one of right noble birth, who honours the throne of modesty and abhors proud speech: for 'tis his way to let his bravery be without unseemly act. The remnant of the Warrior-Seed, which Ares spared, is the root wherefrom he springs, this true-born son of our soil, Melanippus. He must do in the hazard as Ares shall determine; but the *Right* was born with him<sup>1</sup>, which sends him forth, to fend from his mother the assailing spear.

[*Exit Melanippus.*

*Cho.* May the gods give now to *our* champion good fortune as he hath good right, going forth to fight for his country! Yet, when a friend hath passed away, I tremble lest I should see him borne home a bloody corpse.

*Spy.* The gods give him good fortune: so be it.—Capaneus hath drawn the lot for the gate *Electrae*, a giant this one, exceeding the stature of the first, and more than man in the arrogance of his vaunt, threatening peril to nothing less than towers, and asking no sanction from fate<sup>2</sup>; for whether heaven will or no, saith he, he will sack the town, and not Zeus' daughter herself should stay him, if she descended upon earth in his path: her lightnings and thunderous bolts he likens unto heats of noon.

For blazon he hath a man bearing fire, unarmed, but holding with both hands a torch armed with flame<sup>3</sup>, and speaking by signs of gold the words 'I will burn the town'. Against such an one thou must

<sup>1</sup> strictly 'is verily his sister', but the above is the nearest English equivalent which I can suggest.

<sup>2</sup> or, if ἀ μὴ κραῖνοι τύχη be taken as a parenthetic ejaculation, 'peril (which

may fate prohibit)'. But the other way, taking ἀ μὴ κραῖνοι τύχη as quoted from Capaneus, gives a much better point.

<sup>3</sup> or, 'having no other arms but a blazing torch in his hands'; see note.

send—ah, who will encounter, who undismayed abide the boast of his 'man'?

*Et.* This also breeds an advantage, the second even as the first. Even to men the tongue, 'tis said, faithfully betrayeth foolish pride: but Capaneus defieth greater than men with more than speech; and straining his mouth, poor mortal, with ineffectual grin, yells at Zeus in heaven a storm of big words. Which doth itself give me fair assurance to expect for 'the fire-bearer' a thunderbolt, no 'likeness' but the real<sup>1</sup>: and in reserve we have a man, for all his prate, of a fierce courage, even Polyphontes, warranted to defend us by favour of Artemis his protectress and other help divine.

Proceed to the next and his allotted gate.

[*Exit Polyphontes.*]

*Cho.* Perish the boaster who thus loudly insults the town; and may the stroke of thunder stay him, ere ever he leap into my dwelling-place, and his ravaging spear triumph over these virgin bowers!

*Spy.* I proceed<sup>2</sup>. Eteocles it was to whom it fell, when the third lot leapt from the brazen helmet upturned, to charge with his band upon the gate *Neistae*. His horses strain against their headbands, as he turns them round and round, in their eagerness to dash upon the gate. They have nose-gear that whistles in outlandish fashion, when the breath of their proud nostrils fills it. And of no humble fashion is the blazon upon his shield,—a man in armour mounting the steps of a ladder to an enemy's fort which he would sack; and this man, like him of the other shield, proclaims by groups of signs that not Ares' self could expel him from the fortress. Against him also thou must send one whom we may trust to protect this people from the yoke of slaves.

*Eteocles* (*pointing to Megareus whose shield bears the figure of Ares*). I can send him on the instant, and a fortunate choice it is. Indeed he bears his commission, no idle brag, in his own hands—this Megareus, son of Creon, seed of the Earth-born stock, one whom no impatient horses with roaring neigh will scare one step from the gate; no, either by his death he will pay in full to the land the charge of his rearing, or else, sweeping off two men and a town all a-row<sup>3</sup>, will deck with spoils his Father's house. Proclaim me yet another two<sup>4</sup>, and prythee be liberal of thy style.

[*Exit Megareus.*]

<sup>1</sup> *v.* 433 omitted.

<sup>2</sup> *v.* 444 omitted.

<sup>3</sup> This is the principal meaning; for

the double sense, see note.

<sup>4</sup> reading *ἕτ' ἄλλω*.

*Cho.* Truly do I pray good fortune for this side, oh thou champion of my dwelling-place, and ill on theirs. And for the arrogant words, which in the madness of their hearts they vent upon us, may Zeus the Divider look upon them in his wrath!

*Spy.* The fourth, who is taking the next post at the neighbouring gate of *Athena Onca*<sup>1</sup>, is one who brings in other fashion his proclamation with him,—Hippomedon, accoutred with huge embossed device. My hair stood on end, as I will not deny, to see the long circuit which it ran around his shield. It was sure no mean workman, who invented this augmentation thereof,—Typhon breathing through a fiery mouth a smoke shot with red gleams akin to fire, whose branching snakes are supported upon a frame which encompasses the concave disc: and for voice there was the cheer of Hippomedon. Possessed with the spirit of war like a Bacchant he raves for battle with appalling scowl. This is one whose assault needs careful guard, for he vaunts his terror already at the gate.

*Et.* For one defender shall be Pallas Onca, the city's neighbour at the gate, who hating such insolence in man will keep him from us as a bird from her brood the wintered snake. And to match him, man to man, I have chosen good Hyperbius, son of Oenops, who is ready to put to fortune the question of his fate. He is not to be contemned for his shape, or his spirit,—no, nor for the carriage of his arms<sup>2</sup>: Hermes hath paired them fitly, for the men who are to meet are foes, and on their shields they will bring to battle hostile gods; the one hath Typhon fiery of breath, and on Hyperbius' shield is Father Zeus, sitting calm upon his seat while his bolt takes flame from his hand; and never anywhere was seen a Zeus defeated. We see, 'tis true, how frail is the gratitude of heaven! Still we are with the victors, and they with the vanquished, if Zeus is anyway a mightier combatant than Typhon, and if Hyperbius—there is at least a likelihood that these human adversaries will prosper according to their blazons—may find protection from the fortunate Zeus upon his shield.

[*Exit Hyperbius.*]

*Cho.* Faithfully do I believe, that he, who bears upon his buckler opposed to Zeus the figure of that creature from the underworld, friendless in heaven, that semblance abhorred of mortals and living gods, will sink his head before our gate.

*Spy.* So may it prove. Next in my report is he appointed to the fifth gate, the *Northern*, right opposite the barrow of Amphion, son of

<sup>1</sup> or 'at the gate near to Athena Onca'. which he bears (ἀ ἔχει) or 'for the

<sup>2</sup> ὅπλων σχέσις: either 'for the arms fashion (ὡς ἔχει) of his arms'.

Zeus. He takes his oath upon a spear-head that he has, which he trusts more than a god for its sacredness and better than sight,—his oath that, come who may, he will waste the Cadmean town: so sayeth 'the scion of Zeus begotten of her who dwelt in the hills', in beauty's prime, man and yet boy, on whose cheeks is but just advancing the adult growth of close soft hair. Cruel are his thoughts, ill suiting his maiden name, but maiden-proud his flashing eye as he takes his stand at the gate, not without proud announcement waiting: for on the brazen buckler, whose round covers his body, is the reproach of our town, the flesh-devouring Sphinx, a shining figure of beaten work, attached with bolts of cunning contrivance, whereby he moved it. She carries beneath her a Cadmean man, and never before for a single prey did she fly through such a shower of missiles: it is like that once arrived he will do no petty cozening in the trade of war, but something worthy the long journey he hath travelled<sup>1</sup>.

*Et.* Ah, if they might receive from the gods even the very intent of their impious braveries! Of a truth they should perish, utterly and miserably! But he also, the Arcadian of whom thou tellest, hath his man, one who brags not, but hath for what may be done a *seeing hand*—Actor the brother of the last-named. He will not suffer an idle tongue to flow freely in at the gate and feed our troubles, nor let him enter, who bears on hostile shield the monstrous image of that creature abhorred. Outside shall she complain to her bearer within, when she meets a hail of *beating* before the town. And for my part in my *cozening*<sup>2</sup> I may have the favour of the gods.

[*Exit Actor.*]

*Cho.* Their speech goes through my breast, and the hair of my head stands upright, to hear impious mortals so loudly, proudly boast. If the gods be gods, let these be whelmed in earth!

*Spy.* Sixth is one whom I must name the wisest of warriors and bravest of seers, Amphiaraus. He in his post at the gate *Homoloides* pours upon Tydeus many a bitter name, styling him man-slayer, vexer of the public peace, in all evil Argos' chief lessonor, summoner of the Fiend, minister of Murder, and suggester of evil to Adrastus now. Thy brother also, Polynices, he upbraideth in fit measure, turning his eyes to heaven, and at the close twice with stress repeating his name<sup>3</sup>:—"Surely it is indeed an exploit *to be coveted*<sup>4</sup>, an exploit grateful to heaven, and

<sup>1</sup> 'Parthenopaeus the Arcadian; he, such as he hath been shown, is denizen only of Argos, but to repay her for his fair breeding now threatens these towers

with danger which fate fulfill not!'

<sup>2</sup> reading *καπηλεύσαιμι*.

<sup>3</sup> *v.* 566 omitted.

<sup>4</sup> *πολυκεές*: see note.

honourable for later times to hear and to tell, that one should storm down the city of his fathers and the gods of his race with an invading soldiery summoned in. As the blood of a mother is a fountain not to be staunch'd by any atonement, so can it never be that, once thy fatherland by thy incitement conquered, she should make common cause with thee again. Howsoever, I at least shall fatten the soil of this land, shall have burial as a prophet upon her borders, though her foe. Let us fight; the rites of death I shall not lose". So spake the prophet, bearing a shield of plain brass without blazon upon it, to the careless ones around: for his desire is not to seem the bravest but to be, and he reaps in thought the deep furrow, whence grows the fruit of good counsel. 'Twere well to send him an adversary wise and brave; worthy fear is he who worships the gods.

*Et.* Fie upon the fortune that in the unions of mankind joins together the righteous man and the impious! Whatsoever we do there is nought more evil than evil companionship; the fruit of it is not for the gathering; the field of sin bears the fruit of death. Sometimes, embarked with hot-brained voyagers, men of a rascal sort, a pious man doth perish likewise with the abominable crew. Sometimes in a city a righteous one, joined with others cruel to man and forgetful of God, being found contrary to nature in the same net, dies by the undistinguishing blow of the divine spear. So shall it be with the prophet, the son of Oecleus, a wise, righteous, brave, pious man, a mighty interpreter of heaven, confounded with wicked men, whose lips defy their conscience. They are bound on that journey, whence 'tis an over-long way back, and he, when Zeus takes them, shall also be dragged down. I think, therefore, he will not attack the gate at all—not that he lacks courage, or from cowardice of heart, but he knows what their end will be in the fight, if the warning of Loxias is to bear fruit, though he choose to say nothing but what fits the time: but still for more security we will set Lasthenes to keep the gate inhospitably against him, an elder for his wit, but young in stalwart thews, whose eye is *swift to run*, and of hand he is not slow to snatch the instant when the shield uncovers the spear. But to prosper is a gift to men from heaven.

[*Exit Lasthenes.*]

*Cho.* Harken ye gods to our just prayers, that our country may prosper in the wrestle of war; and turn away the invaders from our soil (?). From his place without the wall may Zeus strike them dead with his bolt!

*Spy.* Now am I come to the seventh champion for the *Seventh* gate—thine own brother; of whom I must report to the town according

to his curses and imprecations upon her. He prays that, outlaw though he be, he may set foot upon her walls, may raise a cheer over her fall,—then encounter thee and, if he may slay thee, die beside thee, or, if thou livest, punish thee, his dishonourer and disfranchiser, with like and equal banishment. So crieth he, and calls the natal deities of his fatherland to witness perforce the prayers of him, her *Polynices* indeed. He hath a round buckler newly-made<sup>1</sup>, with a two-fold emblem cunningly attached thereto. A man of beaten gold, in guise of armour, is led by a female form, who goes modestly before, and says, as the letters will declare, 'I am Right<sup>2</sup>, and I will restore this man, and he shall have a country, and come and go in his ancestral home'.—Such are the inventions of them: it is for thee to decide thyself—Whom wilt thou send?—Thou shalt find no fault with me for my announcement—It is for thee, our captain, to decide the course for all.

*Et.* Ah, fatal frenzy<sup>3</sup>!..... Ah, lamentable house, our house of Oedipus! Woe is me! Now doth our father's curse work its accomplishment. But it fits not to weep nor to wail, lest there come to the birth yet a heavier burden of lament. As for this man, so fitly named, this *Polynices*, soon will we know what will be the end of his emblem; whether he shall indeed be brought home by gold-wrought figures raving upon a shield, his maniac pair! If Right the maiden daughter of Zeus had attended on his deeds and thoughts, this perchance might have been. But neither when he came forth from the dark womb, nor in his rearing, nor ever since he grew to manhood, nor while his chin was gathering its growth of hair, has Right given him look or acknowledgment. Nor do I think that now, in this violence done to his fatherland, she doth stand his comrade. Else Right<sup>4</sup> in her name were surely most unrightly wrong, if she were companion to a man of villainous thoughts. In which trust I will go forth to meet him myself—who else rather for his better right? Sovereign to sovereign, brother to brother, foe to foe shall I encounter him. Come, quick<sup>5</sup>—

*Cho.* Nay, dearly beloved, nay, child of Oedipus, be not in rage like him of the wicked name. It is enough that Cadmeans fight with Argives; there is blood for the cleansing of their stain: but death like this of kindred men by the hands of kin—that is a pollution which time takes not away.

<sup>1</sup> or 'newly-drilled': see note.

<sup>2</sup> or 'I am Right, as these letters will declare'.

<sup>3</sup> omitting *τε...στύγος*.

<sup>4</sup> The exact double sense of *Δίκη* here (*Right-Nature*) can scarcely be reproduced.

<sup>5</sup> *v.* 663 omitted.

*Et.* If the hurt might be borne without the shame, 'twere good; for there is no other profit among the dead. But of hurt with shame there is no good word to say.

*Cho.* What would'st thou, child? Let not mad passion for battle fill thy soul and carry thee away: cast out the beginning of evil desire.

*Et.* Since fate doth urge the event so hard, let the wind sweep down Cocytus' destined wave all the house of Laius, which Phoebus hates!

*Cho.* Too cruel the craving which tempteth thee to a rite of homicide, a rite of forbidden blood<sup>1</sup>; and bitter the fruit thereof.

*Et.* Aye, for with fatal suggestion my loving father's hideous Curse doth sit at my side, saying, 'There is something better than death deferred'.

*Cho.* But thou resist her urging. Thy fortunate estate will save thee from the reproof of cowardice: and for the pall-clad Fury, will she not depart from the house, when the gods receive offering of the hands?

*Et.* The gods have well forgotten us long ago, and wonder to receive service from wretches lost. Why then should we still be shrinking from utter death?

*Cho.* Now is the fatal hour. For the power above may yet in time change his mood and his breath blow milder, which now is yet fever-hot.

*Et.* Being wrought, doubtless, to such heat by Oedipus' prayer. Too true was that vision, seen in sleep, of phantom forms dividing a father's wealth.

*Cho.* Let women persuade thee, though thou lovest them not.

*Et.* Ye must ask then a possible thing, and that in brief.

*Cho.* Let this errand, this Seventh Gate, be any man's but thine.

*Et.* I have that edge upon me, which thy words will not take off.

— *Cho.* Yet stooping to conquer is conquering still.

*Et.* It is not for a soldier to love that saying.

*Cho.* And the blood of thy brother is the prize thou would'st pluck?

*Et.* From evil which the gods give there is no escape.

[*Exit Eteocles with his attendants.*]

*Cho.* Oh horrible fear! She, the deity undivine, she who destroyeth a house, the right true prophet of ill, the Fury called by a

<sup>1</sup> reading ἀνδροκτασίαν: with ἀνδρηλασίαν 'to make an exile sure by a rite of forbidden blood'.



father's prayer, fulfills the wrathful imprecation, which Oedipus spake in the weakness of his wits! Deadly she is to his children, and their quarrel calleth her to work.

He is no native, that he should divide the inheritance,—this Chalyb from distant Scythia, this cruel steel, whose award shall cost them dear, when he allots them for their dwelling-place so much land as they may hold even dead, disportioned of yon wide plains.

But when by kindred hands kinsmen are slain, and the dust of the deep hath drunk the thick red gore, who can give cleansing, who wash away their stain? Oh suffering house, where the young are confounded in sins of long ago!

Aye, long ago was done the transgression whereof I speak (swiftly punished, yet to the third generation persisting), when Laius, despite Apollo's command, spoken thrice in his oracle of Pytho at earth's centre, that to save his town he should die without offspring, nevertheless, his prudence vanquished by her he loved, begat death to himself, even Oedipus the parricide; who lived to sow with a seed of blood a sacred field, the mother in whom he was made. Folly and frenzy it was that forced together the wedded pair!

And so as it were a sea of ill, one wave rising still as another fell, hath rolled the triple-crested billow, whose seething waters threaten the very helm of all; while there is but a narrow defence between, the broadness of a wall. And I fear lest with our princes our country also should go down.

For ancient curses self-fulfilling are a heavy merchandise, and the trader's wealth, when grown too gross, doth not escape the coming of destruction, but bringeth wreck of ship and all.

What man was ever so admired by the country's gods, and by them who shared their feast, and by the assembled throng of men, as they honoured Oedipus that day, when the evil beast, whose prey was man, by him was taken from the place?

But when, coming to a clear mind, he knew himself miserable and mis-wedded, impotent of his agony, in the madness of his heart, he wrought a woe two-fold: because his hand had slain his father, he was kept from his ancestral vessels of wrought gold (?)<sup>1</sup>; and being angered at such accursed maintenance, he let fall, alas! upon his children a curse of bitter meaning, praying that they likewise 'with iron in hand' might one day divide his wealth. And I tremble lest this hour the returning Fiend may bring it to pass.

<sup>1</sup> On this passage see the *Introduction*, § 4.

(*Enter a SOLDIER*¹.)

*Soldier.* Courage, ye daughters mother-bred! Our city is saved from the enslaving yoke. The boasts of the mighty ones are fallen; our city in calm alike and in beating storm hath shipped no sea². The wall is sound, and our single champions, the bulwarks of our gates, were worthy their trust. Well have we sped, for the most part, at six portals: but the seventh the great lord Apollo, prince of the Seventh, took unto himself, fulfilling upon the house of Oedipus the perversity of Laius long ago.

*Cho.* But what fresh sorrow is there which importeth the city?

*Sol.* The city is safe. But as for the king's twin-born—

*Cho.* Who? And what of them? I dare not understand.

*Sol.* Hear now with understanding. The offspring of Oedipus—

*Cho.* Alas! alas! I divine the unhappy close.

*Sol.* Nay, but without mystery:—they have so mauled each other, that—

*Cho.* Ah, they lie yonder?—Horrible! yet speak.—Were their murderous hands thus fatally alike? their life³ thus united and timed to the same hour?

*Sol.* Even so: by its own spirit⁴ perishes the ill-starred house. These are things both for rejoicing and for tears, joy for the public fortune and tears for the princes, who with forged iron of Scythia have parted the total of their wealth, and of land shall have just that which they shall receive in burial,.....⁵ according to the fatal prayer of their father.

The city is safe; but as for the twin-born kings—the earth hath drunk their blood, shed by each other's hands.

¹ The text does not imply that the ἄγγελος of this scene is the same with the σκόπος of the first part. The list of *dramatis personae* in M identifies them, under the name of ἄγγελος κατὰσκοπος.

² taking πόλις...ἐδέξατο as one sentence: or, supplying ἐστὶ with πόλις ἐν εὐδρίᾳ τε, 'our city rides in calm, and for all the beating of the waves, hath shipped

no sea'.

³ The δαίμων of this passage is the 'angel' or personified fate, which accompanied the existence of every person and every family from beginning to end. We have no word exactly similar. See δυσδαίμονας and ἀρεκνους in *v.* 812.

⁴ φορούμενοι(?).

*Cho.* Oh great Zeus and deities of this place, ye who do indeed protect these walls of Cadmus, am I to rejoice and raise the cry of triumph unto the harmless Saviour of the town? or to weep for the sad fate of our chieftains so unhappily born, for them who, charactered *too truly* by the fatal name, in desperate *quarrel* through their impious hate have come to their death?

Oh dark Curse of Oedipus, end of him and of his race! A sad chill falls upon my heart. My Bacchant-song took funeral shape, when I heard the tidings of these so miserably slain and weltering in their blood. Alas! with what psalm inauspicious must we celebrate our war<sup>1</sup>!

She hath finished her work, she hath not tired, the solemn Sentence bequeathed from sire to son. Counsels of disobedience, Laius, prevailed not, for all thy public care! The inspired Word is ever fresh in power. Ah lamentable race, this truth ye put out of belief: yet in real sadness the sorrow came!

*[Antigone and Ismene are seen approaching, with a procession bearing the bodies of the brothers.]*

Now, plain to be seen, that which was told us is before our eyes. Oh princely pair, oh hapless hopes, oh murdered and murdering, oh deadly and death-doomed,—ah for words yet! What need for more than these, ‘Sorrow of sorrows for hearth and for home!’?

But oh, with the wind of sighs, and with that speeding stroke of hand upon brow, which plies without ceasing over Acheron, row on that ship dark of sail, that unblest missionary, whereon never Apollo sets foot nor sunlight falls, to the bourn of all, to the unseen shore!

But now, see, they come, Antigone and Ismene, to do their bitter office, the dirge of their brethren. Not with different grief, I trow, for different desert, will their yearning bosoms utter their plaint. Our just part it is, ere their voices be heard, to raise the hideous hymn of the Avengeress and sing the cruel triumph of Death.

*(The procession begins to enter<sup>2</sup>.)*

Ah sisters most unhappy of all who bind their robes with the belt, I weep, I wail, nor is there falsehood in my heart’s most true lament.

Ah (*speaking to the dead*) ye hard of heart, whom love could not bend, nor hardship break, have ye fought your miserable way to your fathers’ house?

<sup>1</sup> The meaning of *ἐναντία δρός* here would be exactly rendered in modern analogy by ‘*Te Deum*’.

<sup>2</sup> The following dirge was distributed

between Antigone, Ismene, and the Chorus; but the parts are not now ascertainable.

Aye, miserable they, who have destroyed the house to win a miserable death.

Ah, thou who would'st make a breach upon thy home, and thou, who to thy hurt would'st be sole lord therein, ye are reconciled now by help of steel. Too true fulfilment the awful Fury of Oedipus your father hath made.

See the wounds in their left sides, those sides which lay in the womb together! Alas, for their fate, for their cursed doom of mutual death!

A deadly blow it is to heart and to home—a deadly blow—which hath smitten them, divided<sup>1</sup> by unspeakable fury and the fate which their sire pronounced.

The city's self thrills with a sigh, the stone walls moan, and the land lovingly, all things which were the cause, the sad cause for which, poor wretches, they furiously contended even unto death.

Keen to enjoy they so parted their wealth that their portions are equal: yet the mediator hath not contented those who loved them, but gave his favour unto the god of war<sup>2</sup>.

Iron with his stroke hath laid them here: iron with his stroke shall yet lay them—ask ye where? In the grave with their fathers, which he shall dig them for their portion.

Thither are they brought with saddest sound, the rending wail of genuine grief, the true lament of a soul divided against itself, which careth not to be glad, but poureth its tears, oh, truly from the heart; for my very heart doth waste as I weep for the royal pair.

And this may be spoken for their sad funeral speech, that many a martial deed they did on the falling ranks of their countrymen, and many another too on foreign ranks, yet friends.

A mother had they more unhappy than all women called by that name. Her own child she took to her husband, and these she bare, who thus have died, each by hands made with his own from the same seed.

'One seed' in truth they had, and, making partition not like friends, by their mad quarrel utterly are they now undone at the ending of the strife.

Hate is no more; their life-stream mixes upon the gory ground and their blood is one indeed.

Dearly they paid for peace, made by the stranger from the Great Sea, the iron sent sharp from the fire, and dearly for the arbitrament of false Ares, who gave them their father's curse fulfilled.

<sup>1</sup> reading διχόφρωνας.

<sup>2</sup> reading ἐπιχάρης δ' Ἀρης.

They have received their pitiable share of the royal realm<sup>1</sup>, a bottomless wealth of earth, but all beneath.

Oh, many a wreath of fame your lineage hath won; yet now at the close of all the Fiends have sung their shrill song of triumph for the utter defeat of your destroyed line! Now is the trophy of Ruin set in the gate, where the fight was fought till with a double victory the evil genius finished his work.

*Antigone.* Smitten thou smotest— *Ismene.* And thou didst slay and wast slain.

*Ant.* By the spear thou slewest— *Ism.* And wast slain by the spear.

*Ant.* A woeful deed! *Ism.* A woeful death!

*Ant.* Let speed the wail. *Ism.* Let fall the tear.

*Ant. and Ism.* Beside the slain shall the slayer be laid.

*Ant.* Ah me! *Ism.* Ah me!

*Ant.* For grief my mind is lost— *Ism.* And my heart doth moan within.

*Ant.* Alas, alas thou woeful man— *Ism.* And woeful thou, and miserable—

*Ant.* By thine own didst thou perish— *Ism.* And thine own thou didst slay.

*Ant.* Two sorrows told— *Ism.* Two sorrows seen.

*Ant.* A mourning pair by mourned pair—

*Ism.* We sisters by our brethren stand.

*Ant. and Ism.* Ah fate unkind, bounteous of ill, ah dread shade of Oedipus, ah, dark Fiend, what might is thine!

*Ant.* Ah me! *Ism.* Ah me!

*Ant.* Sad was the sight— *Ism.* Which his returning showed to me. (?)

*Ant.* He slew and yet he came not home— *Ism.* But in deliverance lost his life.

*Ant.* Aye, lost his life— *Ism.* And took a life away.

*Ant.* Oh woeful house! *Ism.* Oh woeful fate!

*Ant.* ..... *Ism.* .....

*Ant. and Ism.* Ah fate unkind, bounteous of ill, ah dread shade of Oedipus, ah, dark Fiend, what might is thine!

*Ant.* Thou knowest it well, for thou hast tried—

*Ism.* And thou by that same lesson taught—

*Ant.* When to thy country thou didst come—

*Ism.* To encounter him who lieth here.

<sup>1</sup> reading διοδότην ἀρχέων.

*Ant.* Oh saddest tale! *Ism.* Oh saddest sight!

*Ant.* Sorrow— *Ism.* And grief—

*Ant.* To home and land— *Ism.* And most to me.

*Ant.* ..... *Ism.* .....

*Ant. and Ism.* Oh mad, oh miserable!

*Ant.* Oh, where in earth shall we lay them?

*Ism.* Oh, there where most honour is—,

*Ant. and Ism.* By their father's side, alas! unwelcome, to rest.

(*Enter a HERALD.*)

*Herald.* I am to make known what was approved and resolved by the council governing for the people of this Cadmean town. For Eteocles here, it was resolved to lay him in earth, in digged grave, made lovingly for his rest: for that he hated our foes, and, having done all his duty to the religion of his fathers, hath died a death deserving our grace<sup>1</sup>, with auspices such as make death fair. Thus it is commanded me to declare concerning Eteocles: but for his brother Polynices here lying dead, that he be cast out unburied to the dogs, as one who had dispeopled this Cadmean land, had not some one of our gods thwarted his spear—by the spear of his brother here, who, though he died, shall be worshipped for his deed—one of those ancestral gods in whose dishonour this Polynices brought in a host to his aid and would have sacked the town. Thus 'buried' with dishonour by the fowls of the air, it is thought fit that he should receive his meed: and that no mourners follow him to make him a tomb, nor grace him any more with shrill lamentations; but let him be carried forth without loving train. Thus it is resolved respecting these twain<sup>2</sup> by the governors of the Cadmeans.

*Ant.* And I declare to your chief Cadmeans this. If no other will bury this corpse with me, I will bury him, and will dare the peril of having buried my brother. Nor am I ashamed to be guilty of this disobedient revolt against my country. It awes me that we were born of the self-same womb, children of a hapless mother and of a miserable sire. Therefore, my soul, take willing part in distress with him who nothing wills; thou, that livest, be sisterly to the dead. Here are two whose flesh not ravening wolves shall tear—so think it not! As for 'burial' and 'digged grave', I, woman as I am, will contrive him *that*, merely with what I may carry in this fold of linen raiment, and myself will cover him. Spare your prohibitory decree! Courage will find the means to do.

<sup>1</sup> reading ἰληρόν.

<sup>2</sup> reading τῶδε.

*Her.* I charge thee do not this outrage against law.

*Ant.* I charge thee use not thy function idly upon me.

*Her.* Nay, but a people is stern in the hour of a great escape.

*Ant.* Sharpen their sternness, yet shall he not go unburied.

*Her.* And thou wilt reward with burial him whom the law abhors.

*Ant.* The gods—'tis a precedent,—have made no difference in his reward!

*Her.* The difference began when he had imperilled this town.

*Ant.* He was but seeking vengeance for a wrong done.

*Her.* But he would have wreaked on all the offence of one.

*Ant.* *Strife* will out-talk all heaven. I will to bury this corpse. Spare needless speech.

*Her.* At thine own peril then, and prohibited by me!

[*Exit Herald.*]

*Cho.* Ah shame! for shame!

Oh Fiends, oh Furies, ye whose triumph is a house destroyed, ye who have thus utterly taken away the stock of Oedipus! Doing or submitting, what way shall I take? How can I bear neither to weep for thee nor attend thee forth for burial? Yet am I afraid and shrink for fear of the people's will. And yet *thou* wilt find mourners many, while he, alas! must go unlamented, with one sister's voice for his only dirge! Who can submit to that?

[*Half the Chorus, with Antigone, prepare to follow the body of Polynices, the other half with Ismene that of Eteocles.*]

*Sem.* Let the law punish or spare those who lament for Polynices! We will follow his corpse *this way* and aid in his burial. For by kindred he hath equal part in our sorrow, and for the people's law it teacheth ever a new rule of right.

*Sem.* But we will go with *him*, as the people's law teacheth, and right likewise. For under the Blessed Gods and mighty Zeus, he more than any saved the people from sinking even in a sea of foreign folk.

[*Exeunt.*]

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